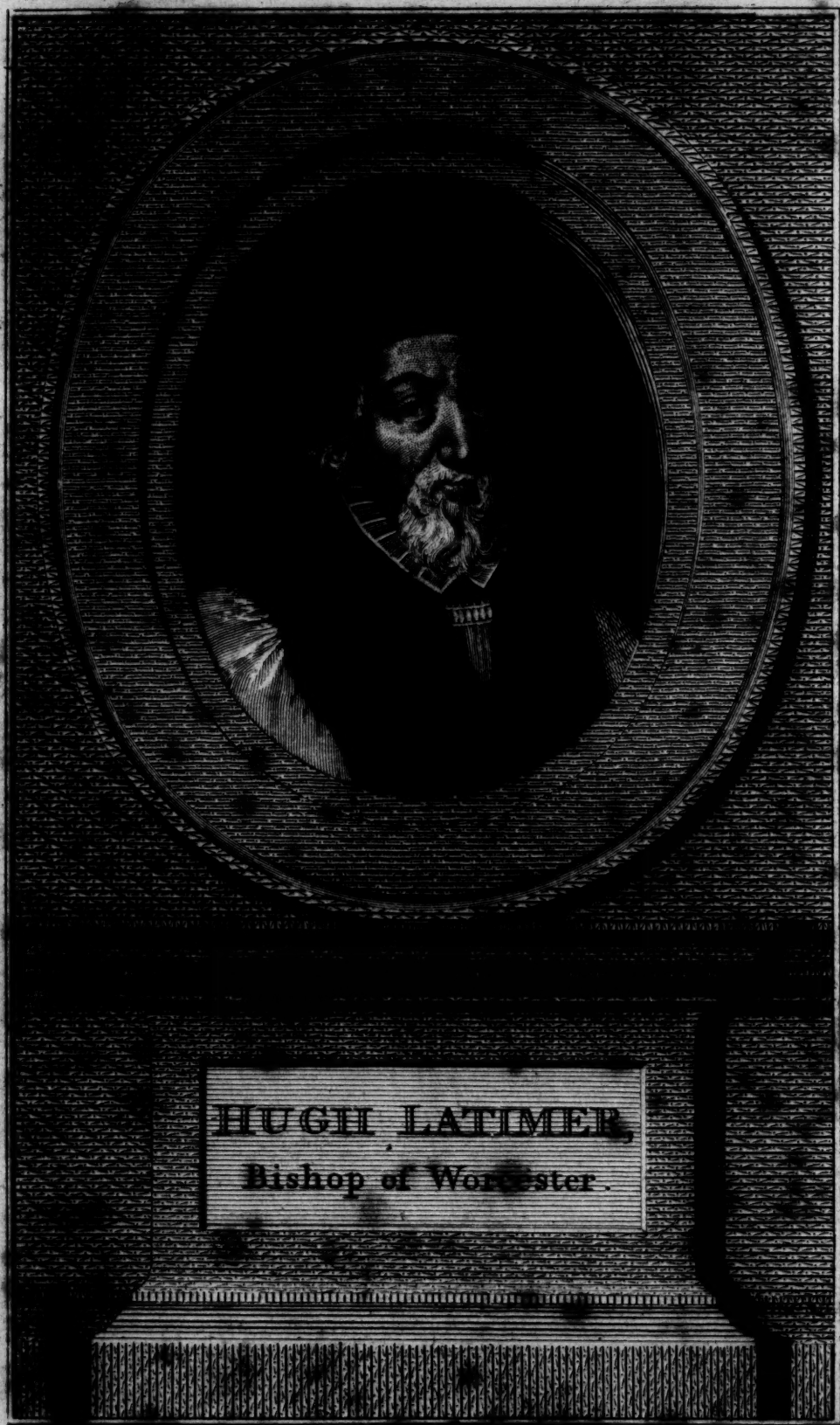




HUGH LATIMER,
Bishop of Worcester.

S E R M O N S

ON

V A R I O U S S U B J E C T S,

BY

H U G H L A T I M E R, *12*

SOMETIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER;

MANY OF WHICH

WERE PREACHED BEFORE THE COURT.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

H I S L I F E.

“ The Words of the Wife are as Goads.”

SOLOMON.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. PITCHER, No. 44, *Barbican.*

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.



THE name, the credit, and the indefatigable diligence of Bishop LATIMER have justly occasioned his being held in the highest veneration by all good men; as a faithful minister of God's word, a bold reprehender of the vices and corruption of the times he lived in, and the chief pillar of the reformation in his day. The following inestimable discourses fully evince he was proof against all the temptations thrown in his way, to slacken his pace, divert his purposes of constantly preaching the pure word of truth, instructing the ignorant, guiding the unwary, and threatening the indolent and backward; with the dignity, zeal, and success of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. He, I say, was not to be diverted, from what he knew to be his indispensable duty; by the enormities with which he had to struggle, or by the carelessness, ignorance, laziness, debauchery, pride and ambition of the then unpreaching prelates and clergy, who were very numerous in the courts of Henry and Edward, as they, it is greatly to be

VOL. I. A feared,

feared, have been in most courts of Kings ever since.

No less was his care and concern for the preservation of the civil, than the religious liberties of his country. We find him attacking the vices of King Henry, and his train of slaves, flatterers, liars, and oppressors, with amazing boldness: we see him directing the steps of the young and religious King Edward, informing him what a set of base, profligate, and wicked men were like to bear the sway in governing his person. That God was in their mouths, and the devil in their hearts; always boasting and vaunting of their loyalty, and yet were the vilest traitors to their master on earth: ‘These fellows,’ the good bishop observes, ‘have the King, the King for ever in their mouths, when it tends to their purpose; but betray him, or his concerns, the moment it avails themselves and their abandoned associates.’

Yet should a King be but tolerably good, or only well inclined to redress the grievances of his people, and prevent their being farther oppressed, and relieve their wrongs; what must be done with these men of high posts and importance? ‘Why,’ says our good bishop, ‘If a judge was to ask me the direct way to hell, let him be a covetous man, let his heart be poisoned with covetousness, let him take bribes and pervert judgement. Let him have his reward, a Tyburn tippet to take with him, if it were the Judge of the King’s Bench, my Lord Chief Judge of England; yea, if it were my Lord Chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him.’ Besides these salutary examples, he farther says, ‘Good judges were rare in old time, and that we have no reason to think the devil has been asleep ever since. The common manner of wicked judges is not to fear God or man.’

From these excellent and spirited examples, and terrible instances of the wrath of heaven on wicked

bishops, statesmen, and lawyers, the good Bishop wrought great service to the undefiled religion of Jesus Christ, and worthily supported the almost sinking liberties of his country. As such great success attended his preaching, it could not be doubted but a like benefit and blessing would attend his labours when printed. This task was undertaken by his secretary and steward, Augustine Berner, a native of Switzerland, and a clergyman, who was his faithful attendant through all his adversity, and left him not till his soul and body were separated by fire at Oxford.

His sermons, save three or four, have been often made public, quoted by multitudes of authors, printed frequently in newspapers through the kingdom, at times when it was thought our religious and civil liberties were either in danger of being publicly overthrown, or secretly undermined. But whenever this was done, it still answered the great purposes of their excellent author, in promoting the general good of society, and bringing backsliders and evil doers again to their duty. They are now reprinted for the benefit of all the people of England, as the most useful and necessary present that could be made to them in this time of public danger, when, though our liberties are happily secured to us by the watchful care of the Prince who now fills the throne, yet, the debaucheries and excess, the venality and corruption, the irreligion and profaneness, which so greatly prevail, rendered this publication absolutely necessary, to prevent the millennium of the dev from commencing in this kingdom.

When a certain great person expressed his inclination that these sermons should be reprinted, he was also desirous it might be observed, that our statesmen at this period were all honest, disinterested, and religious; our lawyers were uncorrupt, and no bribe takers, scorning a paltry fee, and pleading the cause of the widow and fatherless for nothing; our bishops equa

in piety and assiduity in preaching with those of the apostolic ages, and ever resident in their several dioceses ; the clergy, going from house to house, visiting the sick, cloathing the naked, feeding the hungry, and pluralities almost unknown amongst them ; and yet with all these advantages, should any of the above great personages, though out of curiosity only, be induced, as it is imagined they may, to read these excellent discourses, they will find ample matter well worthy their particular notice, and in some instances not unworthy their general imitation.

In respect to those who are commonly called inferiors—It is sufficient to say, perhaps, that in proportion as the learning of their superiors declined, theirs has been equally extended—That, in matters of fact and reason, they are known to be competent judges also with the best of their imagined betters—And, as their hearts are more properly formed for religious instruction by the very nature of their several callings ; so, no doubt, the following discourses will rivet in their minds that sense of faith which only their small leisure to attend the offices of the church (from the hours of business) occasions to be infirm, and which these discourses, in private, when they are so unhappily prevented, will, if carefully read over, render fixt and immoveable.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THIS EDITION.

IT is unnecessary to add any thing in commendation of these sermons, which have so often received the public approbation; but it is proper to apprize the reader of the improvements in this edition.

In the former edition no reference was made to any of the texts occasionally quoted and explained; nor even to some of those made the principal subject of discourse, which the reader may observe is not always the text placed at head of the discourse, as is the modern method; but frequently another afterwards introduced, as in most of the sermons of the first volume.

The notes subjoined are not intended to swell the work, as was too evidently the case of a former edition; but either to explain obsolete or obscure terms and phrases, or elucidate some passages of sacred scripture.

The table of contents and of texts explained are now first inserted, and the general index, it is hoped, will be found more pertinent and pointed.

But the principal thing to be observed is, that some of the sermons, especially in the second volume, are considerably abridged, and it is hoped thereby improved; this was rendered expedient and in a manner necessary from the following circumstances; viz. That these sermons being preached at distant times and places, the same observations, arguments, and even anecdotes, were several times repeated; which, though no fault in the preacher, certainly should be rectified by the editor; this we have therefore attempted, but with the greatest care not to injure (but rather improve) the discourses, nor to omit any divine truth, any useful observation, or any pertinent anecdote.

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T H E
L I F E
O F
B I S H O P L A T I M E R.

HUGH LATIMER, sometime Bishop of Worcester, and son of Hugh Latimer, a husbandman, as Fox says, 'of right good estimation,' was born at Thurstaston in the county of Leicester, in the year 1470, and in the reign of King Edward IV. In the neighbourhood of this place his father rented a farm, and lived and maintained his family, which consisted of a wife, one son, which was our excellent Prelate, and six daughters. We know nothing more of this farmer's circumstances and manner of life, than what we learn from one of his son's sermons, preached at Court before Edward VI. in which he tells his royal and noble auditory— 'That
' upon a farm of four pounds a year, at the utmost, his
' father tilled as much ground as kept half a dozen men ;
' that he had it stocked with a hundred sheep, and thirty
' cows ; that he found the King a man and horse, him-
' self remembering to have buckled on his father's har-
' ness when he went to Blackheath ; that he gave his
' daughters five pounds a-piece at marriage ; that he lived
' hospitably among his neighbours, and was not back-
' ward in his alms to the poor.' *

* Sermon V.

In

In 1484, being in the fifteenth year of his age, and having learnt as much as he could from the schools and schoolmasters of the county of Leiceſter, he was ſent, for farther learning, to the Univerſity of Cambridge: but of what particular college he was, we no where read. Here he paſſed his time in attending the public exerciſes, in which he was diligent and induſtrious. Theſe ended, he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of ſuch ſchool divinity, as the ignorance and ſuperſtition of that age ſuffered; or as a modern writer expreſſes it, ‘ He read the ſchoolmen and ‘ the ſcriptures with the ſame reverence, and held Tho- ‘ mas à Becket and the Apoſtles in equal honour.’ All which time he was zealous in the Popiſh religion, and withal ſo very ſcrupulous, as himſelf often confeſſed, that being a Prieſt, and uſing conſtantly to ſay maſs, he was ſo ſervile an obſerver of the decrees of the Roman See, that he thought he had never ſufficiently mingled his maſſing wine with water; and moreover, that he ſhould never be damned, if he were once a profeſſed friar, with many ſuch ſuperſtitious fancies: nay, he was ſo offended at the doctrines and attempts of the Proteſtants to reform the holy church, and looked on them in ſo bad a light, that he declared he was of opinion, the laſt times, the day of judgement, and the end of the world, were now approaching: impiety, he ſaid, was gaining ground apace; and, continued he, what lengths may not men be expected to run, when they begin to queſtion even the infallibility of the Pope? He inveighed publicly and privately, on all occaſions, againſt the Reformers and their adherents. If any read lectures in the ſchools, Mr. Latimer was ſure to be there to drive out the ſcholars; and, when he commenced bachelor of divinity, he took occaſion to give an open teſtimony of his diſlike to their proceedings, in an oration which he made againſt Melancthon, whom he treated with great ſeverity, for his impious, as he called them, innovations in religion. His zeal was ſo much taken notice of in the Univerſity, that he was elected into the office of croſs-bearer in all public proceſſions; an employment

ployment which he accepted with reverence, and discharged with becoming solemnity.

Among those who at this time favoured the Reformation, the most considerable was Thomas Bilney, a clergyman of a most holy life, who began to see Popery in a very disagreeable light, and made no scruple to own it. It was Mr. Latimer's happiness to be well acquainted with this religious person, who had long indeed conceived favourable sentiments of him. He had known his life in the University, a life strictly moral and devout; he ascribed his failings to the genius of his religion, and notwithstanding his more than ordinary zeal in the profession of that religion, he could observe in him a very candid temper, prejudiced by no sinister views, and an honesty of heart, which gave him great hopes of his reformation. Induced by these favourable appearances, Mr. Bilney failed not, as opportunities offered, to suggest many things to him about corruptions in religion in general, whence he used frequently to drop a hint concerning some in the Romish church in particular, till having prepared the way for his whole creed, he at length opened it, concluding with an earnest persuasion, that his friend would only endeavour to divest himself of his prejudices, and place the two sides of the question before him with an honest heart for his guide. These arguments were enforced by an address peculiarly tender and affectionate; and, through the power of divine grace, at length happily succeeded.

Mr. Latimer no sooner ceased from being a zealous Papist, than he became an equally zealous Protestant; very active in supporting and propagating the Reformed doctrine, and assiduous to make converts both in the town and University. He preached in public, exhorted in private, and every where pressed the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then too much thought to be the essentials of religion. A behaviour of this kind was immediately taken notice of; Cambridge, no less than the rest of the kingdom, was entirely Popish; every new opinion was
watched

watched with the utmost jealousy ; and Mr. Latimer soon perceived how obnoxious he had made himself. The first remarkable opposition he met with from the Popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons he preached before the University, during the Christmas holidays, 1526, in which he spoke his sentiments with great freedom upon many opinions and usages maintained and practised in the Romish church.

In these sermons, says Mr. Fox, he gave the people certain cards * out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might not only then, but afterward employ their time : he chose the heart for his trump, shewing thereby, that with their hearts they ought to serve God. It was at this time he took an opportunity to inveigh sharply and wittily against most, if not all, the lucrative doctrines of the church of Rome. He spoke largely against the superstition, of saying mass in an unknown tongue, and gave the most solid reasons why the scriptures of the Old and New Testament should be translated into English, printed, and put into the hands of the most illiterate.

These sermons made a great stir in the University, and soon became the general subject of conversation, not only in Cambridge, but their fame reached London, Oxford, and the most distant parts of the kingdom. Insomuch, says Fox, that Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom shaken indeed, and therefore thought it high time to look about him, and muster together his forces. The first who attacked Latimer was Dr. Buckingham, Prior of the Black Friars in Cambridge. This he did in the church of St. Edward, in the beginning of January 1527. And as Latimer had at this season brought forth his cards, Buckingham thought proper also to bring forth his dice to answer them. He undertook to prove to his audience, that it was not expedient the Scriptures should be in English. This assertion he endeavoured to support from five places out of the New Testament, which he called his

* See Sermons XLIV. and XLV.

Cinque, and also out of the four most eminent doctors and fathers of the ancient church, which he called his Quater. By which his cinque and quater he suggested, that if the ploughman should read this expression in the Gospel, 'No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and 'looking back, is meet for the kingdom of God,' would cease from his hard labour; the baker in like manner, finding 'that a little leaven will corrupt a large lump of dough,' will peradventure leave our bread unleavened. A third reading, 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, 'and cast it from thee,' may be induced in obedience thereto, to pluck out his eye, and so the world will be filled with beggars. Thus solemnly did the Prior trifle, and Latimer, who was present all the sermon, promised the next Sunday to refute his arguments.

Accordingly, the time being come, the whole University, together with the most eminent people in the town, came to hear Latimer preach in answer to the doughty reasons of the Prior. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, Prior Buckingham himself entered the church with his cowl about his shoulders, and seated himself, with an air of importance, before the pulpit. Mr. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that, without the appearance of ill nature, he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people; descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understandings, expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with such contempt, and wished his honest countrymen might only have the use of the scripture till they shewed themselves such absurd interpreters. He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon scripture metaphors. A figurative manner of speech, he said, was common in all languages; representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood: 'Thus, for instance,' continues he, addressing himself to that

part of the audience where the Prior was seated, 'when we see a fox painted preaching in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb.'

But Latimer could reason as well as ridicule, when he thought it necessary; and soon after this event gained a more honourable victory than that of making a dunce ridiculous; for the Papists themselves looked upon Buckingham in no better light, and therefore engaged one Venetus, a learned foreigner, to attack our preacher again on the same subject, which he did in a manner the most scurrilous and provoking: but here we find our author, notwithstanding, more grave and serious. He answers, like a scholar, what is worth answering, and, like a man of sense, leaves the absurd part to confute itself. Whether he ridiculed, however, or reasoned, with so much of the spirit of true oratory, considering the times, were his harangues animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect: his raillery shut up the Prior within his monastery; and his arguments drove Venetus from the University.

These advantages increased the credit of the Protestant party in Cambridge, of which Bilney and Latimer were at the head. The meekness, gravity, and unaffected piety of the former, and the cheerfulness, good humour, and eloquence of the latter, wrought much upon the junior students.

These things greatly alarmed the orthodox clergy: of this sort were all the heads of colleges, and indeed the senior part of the University. Frequent convocations were held, tutors were admonished to have a strict eye over their pupils, and academical censures of all kinds were inflicted. But academical censures were found insufficient: Mr. Latimer continued to preach and spread heresy. The heads of the Popish party applied to the Bishop of Ely, as their diocesan: but that prelate was not a man for their purpose; he was a Papist, indeed, but moderate. He came to Cambridge, however, examined the

the state of religion, and at their entreaty preached against heretics : but he would do nothing farther ; only, indeed, he silenced Mr. Latimer, which, as he had preached himself, was an instance of his prudence. This gave no check to the Reformers. There happened at that time to be a Protestant Prior in Cambridge, Dr. Barnes, of the Austin Friars ; his monastery was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr. Latimer, he boldly licensed him to preach there. Hither his party followed him ; and the late opposition having greatly excited the curiosity of the people, the friar's chapel was soon incapable of containing the crowds that attended. Among others, it is remarkable that my lord of Ely was often one of his hearers, and had the ingenuity to declare, that Mr. Latimer was one of the best preachers he had ever heard.

The credit to his cause which our preacher had thus gained in the pulpit, he maintained by a holy life out of it. Mr. Bilney and he did not satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving instances of goodness, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They were always together concerting their schemes. The place where they used to walk was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics hill. Cambridge at that time was full of their good actions ; their charities to the poor, and their friendly visits to the sick and unhappy, were then common topics.

But these served only to increase the heat of persecution from their adversaries. Impotent themselves, and finding their diocesan either unable or unwilling to work their purposes, they determined upon an appeal to the higher powers ; and heavy complaints were carried to Court of the increase of heresy, not without formal depositions against the principal abettors of it.

The principal persons at this time concerned in ecclesiastical affairs were Cardinal Wolsey ; Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury ; and Tunstun, Bishop of London ; and as Henry VIII. was now in expectation of having the business of his divorce ended in a regular way at

Rome, he was careful to observe all forms of civility with the Pope. The Cardinal therefore erected a court, consisting of bishops, divines, and canonists, to put the laws in execution against heresy: of this court Tunstal was made president, and Bilney, Latimer, and one or two more, were called before him. Bilney was considered as the heresiarch, and against him chiefly the rigour of the court was levelled, and they succeeded so far, that he was prevailed upon to recant; accordingly he bore his faggot, and was dismissed. As for Mr. Latimer and the rest, they had easier terms. The heretics, upon their dismissal, returned to Cambridge, where they were received with open arms by their friends.

Amidst this mutual joy Bilney alone seemed unaffected; he shunned the sight of his acquaintance, and received their congratulations with confusion and blushes. In short, he was struck with remorse for what he had done, grew melancholy, and after leading a life for three years in all the severity of a primitive penitent, resolved to revoke his abjuration, though at the expence of his life. In this resolution he went to Norfolk, the place of his nativity, and preaching publicly against Popery, was apprehended by order of the Bishop of Norwich, and, after lying awhile in the county jail, executed in that city.

His sufferings, far from shocking the Reformation at Cambridge, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Mr. Latimer began now to exert himself more than he had yet done, and succeeded to that credit with his party, which Mr. Bilney had so long supported. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution in this cause, he gave one which was indeed very remarkable: he had the courage to write to the King against a proclamation then just published, forbidding the use of the Bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before His Majesty (Henry VIII.) once or twice at Windsor, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put
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all to the hazard, rather than omit what he thought his duty. He was generally considered as one of the most eminent of those who favoured Protestantism, and therefore thought it became him to be one of the most forward in opposing Popery. His letter is the picture of an honest heart, and we are persuaded no reader who knows its excellence would readily excuse our omission of it. It runs thus :

“ St. Augustine tells us, ‘ That he who through fear, hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of heaven, as a person who fears man more than God.’ And St. Chrysostom gives it as his opinion, ‘ That a person may betray the truth, as well by concealing it, as disguising it.’ These sentences, great King, occurred to me very lately ; and have had such an effect upon me, that I must either open my conscience to your Majesty, or rank myself among such persons as those two holy fathers censure. The latter I cannot think of. But, alas ! there are men upon whom such severe censures have no effect : there are men, who, pretending to be guides and teachers in religion, not only conceal the truth, but prohibit others to set it forth ; blind guides, who shut up the kingdom of heaven from men, and will neither enter in themselves, neither suffer them that would, to enter. And not content with obstructing the word of God to the utmost of their own authority, they have contrived by their subtle practices to draw into their assistance the civil power in almost all the states of Christendom. In this nation especially, they have long imposed upon your subjects by their delusions, and kept them in awe by their spiritual censures ; and when they saw the truth likely to prevail, and gather strength from their opposition, they have at length obtained your Majesty’s proclamation in their favour, and have got it declared treason to read the Scriptures in English. Hear me, I beseech your Majesty, a few words, and let me entreat you to call to mind the example of Christ and his Apostles, their manner of life, their preaching, and whole behaviour ; that comparing them with the spiritual guides of this day, your Majesty may be the better
judge

judge who are the true followers of Christ. And first it is evident, that simplicity of manners, and hearts sequestered from the world, were the striking characteristics of the first preachers of the gospel, and of our blessed Lord himself. Poverty in spirit was then practised as well as preached. Alas ! it is since those days that christian teachers, masking their worldly hearts under the pretence of voluntary poverty, and an exclusion from carnal things, have wormed themselves into more than regal wealth ; and have wickedly kept what they have craftily obtained, by fomenting foreign or domestic strife, in all places, as their purposes were best served ; and by blasphemously dealing out even the punishments of heaven against all who had resolution enough to make any stand against their corruptions. By what arts they have evaded a late act of parliament against their encroachments, your Majesty well knows. Think not, gracious Sovereign, that I exceed the bounds of charity in what I say : I only offer to your Majesty's consideration a rule, which was once prescribed by a greater Master, ' By their fruits shall ye know them.' Another mark of the true disciples of Christ is their being at all times exposed to persecution. It would be endless to quote all the passages of Scripture in which this burden is universally laid upon good Christians. Contempt and reproach is their common lot, and often the most violent persecutions, even to death itself. Wherever, therefore, the word of God is truly preached, you must expect to see persecution in one shape or other. On the contrary, wherever you see ease and luxury, and a quiet possession of worldly pleasures, there the truth cannot possibly be : for the world loveth only such as are worldly ; and the favourers of the Gospel can expect nothing in it from reason, and are promised nothing in it by Scripture, but vexation and trouble. From this distinction again, your Majesty, by the assistance of the above-mentioned rule, ' By their fruits ye shall know them,' will be able to judge, who are the true followers of Christ : wherever you observe persecution, there is more than a probability that truth lies on the persecuted side.

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As for a notion, which has been infused into your Majesty, that the Scriptures in the hands of the people might move them to rebellion, your Majesty may judge of the falshood of this likewise by the same rule: 'By their fruits shall ye know them.' How is it possible, that a book which inculcates obedience to magistrates with the greatest earnestness, can be the cause of sedition? The thing speaks for itself, and discovers only how their malice is at a loss for topics of invective. When King David sent ambassadors to the young King of the Ammonites to condole with him upon the death of his father, your Majesty may remember what unadvised counsel was given to that rash prince. His counsellors put it into his head, contrary to all reason, that David's messengers came only as spies, and that David certainly meant an invasion. The young King, upon this, without farther ceremony, wantonly shaved the heads of the ambassadors, and treated them with other instances of contempt. But the following verses inform us how the affair ended. The destruction of the whole land, we read, was the consequence of listening to imprudent counsel. Let not, great King, this fact find its parallel in English history. The ambassadors of a great Prince are now making suit to you; the holy Evangelists, and Apostles of Christ. Be upon your guard; and believe not the idle tales of those who would persuade you, that these messengers of peace are coming to foment sedition in your land. Would your Majesty know the true cause of this confederacy, as I may well call it, against the word of God; examine the lives of those that are the leaders of it, and consider whether there may not be some private reasons inducing such persons to keep a book in concealment, which cries out loudly against all kind of vice. And if your Majesty wants to know the source of rebellions, I think a much fairer one may be conjectured at, than the use of an English Bible. For my own part, I have long been of opinion, that a greater encouragement of civil disorder could hardly have been invented, than the church-trade of pardons and indulgencies; to which may be added the bad examples of the clergy, and the little care they are generally

rally thought to take in the discharge of their duty. As for those who are now in question about your Majesty's late proclamation, I am creditably informed, there is not one among them, who hath not in every respect demeaned himself as a peaceable and good subject; excepting only in this one case, in which they thought their religion and consciences concerned. In this particular, however, I excuse them not; nor will I take upon me entirely to defend the books for which they suffer; for, indeed, many of them I have never read; only this your Majesty must give me leave to say, that it is impossible the many inconveniences can follow from these books, and especially from the Scripture, which they would persuade mankind will follow. Accept, gracious Sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written; I thought it my duty to mention these things to your Majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with any man; I wanted only to induce your Majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel; indeed, great Prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your Majesty may see through all the designs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are entrusted! Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself; have pity upon your own soul; and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your Grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who suffered death for our sins. The Spirit of God preserve you!"

Though the influence of the Popish party then prevailed so far, that this letter produced no effect: yet the King, no way displeased, received it not only with temper, but with great condescension, graciously thanking him for his well-intended advice. The King loved sincerity and openness; and Mr. Latimer's plain and simple manner had before

fore made a favourable impression upon him, which this letter contributed not a little to strengthen; and the part he acted in promoting the establishment of the King's supremacy, in 1535, riveted him in the royal favour. Dr. Butts, the King's physician, being sent to Cambridge on that occasion, began immediately to pay his court to the Protestant party, from whom the King expected most unanimity in his favour. Among the first, he made his application to Mr. Latimer, as a person most likely to serve him; begging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the case, and do his utmost to bring over those of most eminence, who were still inclined to the Papacy. Mr. Latimer, being a thorough friend to the cause he was to solicit, undertook it with his usual zeal, and discharged himself so much to the satisfaction of the Doctor, that, when that gentleman returned to Court, he took Mr. Latimer along with him: in the design, no doubt, to procure him something answerable to his merit.

About this time a person was rising into power, who became his chief friend and patron; the Lord Cromwell, who being a friend to the Reformation, encouraged of course such churchmen as inclined towards it. Among these was Mr. Latimer, for whom his patron very soon obtained a benefice in Wiltshire, whither he resolved, as soon as possible, to repair, and keep a constant residence. His friend, Dr. Butts, surprized at this resolution, did what he could to dissuade him from it: 'You are deserting, said he, the fairest opportunity of making your fortune: the Prime Minister intends this only as an earnest of his future favours, and will certainly in time do great things for you. But it is the manner of Courts to consider them as provided for, who seem to be satisfied; and, take my word for it, an absent claimant stands but a poor chance among rivals who have the advantage of being present.' Thus the old courtier advised. But these arguments had no weight. He was heartily tired of the Court, where he saw so much debauchery and irreligion, without being able to oppose them, having neither authority nor talents, as he thought, to reclaim the great.

He left the Palace, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish. Nor was he satisfied within those limits; he extended his labours throughout the county, where he observed the pastoral care most neglected, having for that purpose obtained a general licence from the University of Cambridge. As his manner of preaching was very popular in those times, the pulpits every where were gladly opened for him; and at Bristol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the magistrates. But this reputation was too much for the orthodox clergy to suffer, and their opposition first broke out at Bristol. The Mayor had appointed him to preach there on Easter-day. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleased, when suddenly there came out an order from the Bishop, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr. Latimer, informed him of the Bishop's order, and, knowing that he had no such licence, were extremely sorry, that they were by that means deprived of the pleasure of hearing an excellent discourse from him. Mr. Latimer received their compliment with a smile; for he had been apprized of the affair, and well knew, that these were the very persons who had written to the Bishop against him.

Their opposition became afterwards more public; the pulpits were made use of to spread their invectives against him; and such liberties were taken with his character, that he thought it necessary to justify himself, and accordingly called upon his maligners to accuse him publicly before the Mayor of Bristol: and, with all men of candor, he was justified; for when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing legal proof of what they had said, nothing of that kind appeared; but the whole accusation was left to rest upon the uncertain evidence of some hearsay information.

His enemies, however, were not thus silenced. The party against him became daily stronger, and more inflamed. It consisted in general of the country priests in those parts, headed by some divines of more eminence. These persons,
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after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of the worship of Saints; with saying, there was no material fire in Hell, and that he would rather be in Purgatory than in Lollard's tower. This charge being laid before Stokesley, Bishop of London, that prelate cited Mr. Latimer to appear before him; and, when he appealed to his own ordinary, a citation was obtained out of Warham's Archbishop's court, where Stokesley and some other Bishops were commissioned to examine him.

An archiëpiscopal citation brought him at once to a compliance. His friends would have had him fly for it; but their persuasions were in vain. He set out for London in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of the stone and cholic; but he was more distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy, who would not fail to undo in his absence what he had hitherto done.

On his arrival at London he found a court of Bishops and Canonists ready to receive him, where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and reliques, the Pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images; and when he refused to sign it, the Archbishop with a frown begged he would consider what he did. 'We intend not,' says he, 'Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present, take a copy of the articles, examine them carefully, and God grant that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper.' The next and several succeeding meetings the same scene was acted over again. He continued inflexible, and they continued to distress him. Three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to elicit something from him by captious questions, or to tease him at length into compliance.

Of one of these examinations he gives us the following account : ‘ I was brought out,’ says he, ‘ to be examined ‘ in the same chamber as before ; but, at this time it was ‘ somewhat altered : for, whereas before there was a fire in ‘ the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras ‘ hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the ‘ chimney’s end. There was, among these Bishops that ‘ examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, ‘ and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and ‘ he sat next the table end. Then, among other ques- ‘ tions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one ; ‘ and when I should make answer : I pray you, Mr. La- ‘ timer,’ said he, ‘ speak out, I am very thick of hearing, ‘ and there be many that sit far off. I marvelled at this, ‘ that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, ‘ and gave an ear to the chimney ; and there I heard a pen ‘ plainly scratching behind the cloth. They had appointed ‘ one there to write all my answers, that I should not start ‘ from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me an- ‘ swers, I could never else have escaped them.’ *

At length he was tired out with such usage ; and, when he was next summoned, instead of going himself, he sent a letter to the Archbishop, in which, with great freedom, he tells him, ‘ that the treatment he had of late met with, ‘ had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him ‘ unfit to attend that day ; that, in the mean time, he ‘ could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate ‘ with his Grace for detaining him so long from the dis- ‘ charge of his duty ; that it seemed to him most unac- ‘ countable, that they, who never preached themselves, ‘ should hinder others ; that, as for their examination of ‘ him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at ; ‘ they pretended one thing in the beginning, and ano- ‘ ther in the progress ; that, if his sermons were what ‘ gave offence, which he persuaded himself were neither ‘ contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, ‘ he was ready to answer whatever might be thought ex- ‘ ceptionable in them : that he wished a little more re- ‘ gard might be had to the judgement of the people ; and

‘ that

‘ that a distinction might be made between the ordinances
‘ of God and man ; that if some abuses in religion did
‘ prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought
‘ preaching was the best means to discountenance them ;
‘ that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform
‘ their duty ; but that, however, liberty might be given
‘ to those who were willing : that, as for the articles pro-
‘ posed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing
‘ them ; while he lived, he never would abet superstition ;
‘ and that, lastly, he hoped the Archbishop would excuse
‘ what he had written : he knew his duty to his superiors,
‘ and would practise it ; but, in that case, he thought a
‘ stronger obligation laid upon him.’

The Bishops still continued their persecution, till their schemes were frustrated by an unexpected hand. The King, being informed, most probably by Lord Cromwell’s means, of Mr. Latimer’s ill usage, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies.

A figure of so much simplicity, and such an apostolic appearance as his at Court, did not fail to strike Anne Boleyn, who was the favourite wife of Henry. This unfortunate Queen mentioned him to her friends, as a person, in her opinion, as well qualified as any she had seen, to forward the Reformation, the principles of which she had imbibed from her youth. The Lord Cromwell raised our preacher still higher in her esteem, and they both joined in an earnest recommendation of him for a bishopric to the King, who did not want much solicitation in his favour. It happened that the sees of Worcester and Salisbury were at that time vacant, by the deprivation of Ghinuccii and Campegio, two Italian bishops, who fell under the King’s displeasure, upon his rupture with Rome. The former of these was offered to Latimer ; and, as he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, he looked upon it as the work of Providence, and accepted it without much persuasion. Indeed he had met with so very rough a check already, as a private clergyman, and saw before him so hazardous a prospect in his old station, that he thought it necessary, both for his
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own safety, and for the sake of being of more service to the world, to shroud himself under a little more temporal power.

All the historians of these times mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office, and tell us, that, in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court with the same spirit. In visiting, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproof and exhorting, severe and persuasive. Thus far he could act with authority; but in other things he found himself under difficulties. The Popish ceremonies gave him great offence; and he neither durst, in times so dangerous and unsettled, lay them entirely aside; nor, on the other hand, was he willing entirely to retain them. In this dilemma his address was admirable; he inquired into their origin, and when he found any of them, as some were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate their original, though itself a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus, he put the people in mind, when holy bread and water were distributed, that these elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism; the former, he said, reminded us of Christ's death, and the latter was only a simple representation of being purified from sin. He thus endeavoured to reduce these much corrupted institutions, as near as might be, to their primitive purity and original design.

While his endeavours to reform were thus confined to his diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner, by a summons to parliament and convocation in 1536. This session was thought a crisis by the Protestant party, at the head of which stood the Lord Cromwell, whose favour with the King was now in its meridian; next to him in power was Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; after whom, the Bishop of Worcester was
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the most considerable man of the party ; to whom were added the Bishops of Ely, Rochester, Hereford, Salisbury, and St. David's. On the other hand, the Popish party was headed by Lee, Archbishop of York, Gardiner, Stokesley, and Tunstall, Bishops of Winchester, London, and Durham.

The convocation was opened as usual by a sermon, or rather an oration, spoken, at the appointment of Cranmer, by the Bishop of Worcester,* whose eloquence was at this time every where famous. Many warm debates passed in this assembly, the result whereof was, that five sacraments out of the seven were concluded to be insignificant. But, as the Bishop of Winchester made no figure in them, for debating was not his talent, it is beside the purpose of this memoir to enter into a detail of the several transactions of it. We shall only add, that a vigorous attempt was at this time made to get him and Cranmer stigmatized by some public censure ; but they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies. Many alterations were made in favour of the Reformation, and a few months after the Bible was translated into English, and recommended to a general perusal, in October 1537.

In the mean while the Bishop of Worcester, highly satisfied with the prospect of the times, repaired to his diocese, having made a longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he knew he had none, for state affairs, and therefore he meddled not with them. It is upon that account that Bishop Burnet speaks in a very slight manner of his public character at this time : but it is certain, that he never desired to appear in any public character at all. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of a statesman, nor those of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of the characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story :—It was the custom in those days for the Bishops to make presents to the King on New-year's-

* See Sermons II. and III.

day, and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectations. Among the rest, the Bishop of Worcester, being at this time in town, waited upon the King with his offering; but instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage: 'Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.'

Henry VIII. made as little use of a good judgement as any man ever did. His whole reign was one continued rotation of violent passions, which rendered him a mere machine in the hands of his ministers; and he among them, who could make the most artful address to the passion of the day, carried his point. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was just returned from Germany, having successfully negotiated some commissions which the King had greatly at heart; in 1539, when the parliament was called to confirm the seizure and surrendry of the monasteries, that subtle minister took his opportunity, and succeeded in prevailing upon his Majesty to do something towards restoring the old religion, as being most advantageous for his views in the present situation of Europe.

In this state of affairs, the Bishop of Worcester received his summons to parliament, and, soon after his arrival in town, he was accused, before the King, of preaching a seditious sermon. The sermon was preached at Court, and the preacher, according to his custom, had been unquestionably severe enough against whatever he observed amiss. The King had called together several Bishops, with a view to consult them upon some points of religion. When they had all given their opinions, and were about to be dismissed, the Bishop of Winchester, most probably, kneeled down and accused our Bishop. But being called upon by the King, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, he was so far from denying, or even palliating what he had said, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the King, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, made this answer: 'I never thought myself worthy, I never sued, to

‘ be a preacher before your Grace ; but I was called to it,
 ‘ and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give place
 ‘ to my betters ; for I grant there be a great many more
 ‘ worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your
 ‘ Grace’s pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be
 ‘ content to bear their books after them. But if your
 ‘ Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to
 ‘ give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame
 ‘ my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a
 ‘ very dolt indeed to have preached so at the borders
 ‘ of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.’ * The
 greatness of this answer baffled his accuser’s malice, the
 severity of the King’s countenance changed into a gra-
 cious smile, and the Bishop was dismissed with that oblig-
 ing freedom which this monarch never used but to those
 whom he esteemed.

In this parliament passed the famous act, as it was
 called, of the six articles, which was no sooner published,
 than it gave an universal alarm to all favourers of the Re-
 formation ;† and, as the Bishop of Worcester could not
 give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any
 office in a church where such terms of communion were
 required. He therefore resigned his bishopric, ‡ and re-
 tired into the country, where he resided during the heat
 of that persecution which followed upon this act, and
 thought of nothing for the remainder of his days but a
 sequestered life. He knew the storm which was up could
 not soon be appeased, and he had no inclination to trust
 himself in it. But, in the midst of his security, an un-
 happy accident carried him again into the tempestuous

* See Sermon VII.

† These articles established—1. Transubstantiation : 2. Vows
 of Chastity : 3. Private Masses : 4. Communion in one kind :
 5. The Celibacy of the Clergy : and 6. Auricular Confession.

‡ It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament-
 house to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, de-
 clared to those who stood about him, that he thought himself
 lighter than ever he found himself before. The story is not un-
 likely, as it is much in character ; a vein of pleasantry and good
 humour accompanying the most serious actions of his life.

weather that was abroad ; he received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts. With this view he repaired to London ; where he had the misfortune to see the fall of his patron, the Lord Cromwell, a loss which he was soon made sensible of. Gardiner's emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and something that somebody had somewhere heard him say against the six articles, being alledged against him, he was sent to the Tower, where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence or another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of King Henry's reign.

Immediately upon the change of government under King Edward VI. he, and all others who were imprisoned in the same cause, were set at liberty ; and Bishop Latimer, whose old friends were now in power, was received by them with every mark of affection ; and he would have found no difficulty in dispossessing Heath, in every respect an insignificant man, who had succeeded to his bishopric ; but he had other sentiments, he neither would make suit himself, nor suffer his friends to make any, for his restoration. However, this was done by the parliament, who, after settling the national concerns, sent up an address to the Protector to restore him. The Protector was very well inclined, and proposed the resumption to Mr. Latimer, as a point which he had very much at heart ; but our author persevered in the negative, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life.

Having thus rid himself of all entreaty, on this head, he accepted an invitation from his friend, Archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life, being chiefly employed in hearing the complaints and redressing the injuries of poor people. And indeed his character for services of this kind was so universally known, that strangers from every part of England would resort to him, so that he had as
crowded

crowded a levee as a minister of state. And surely no one was ever better qualified to undertake the office of redressing injuries : his free reproofs, joined to the integrity of his life, had a great effect upon those in the highest stations, while his own independence, and backwardness in asking any favour for himself, allowed him greater liberty in asking for others.

In these employments he spent more than two years, interfering as little as possible in any public transaction, only he assisted the Archbishop in composing the Homilies, which were set forth by authority in the first year of King Edward ; he was also appointed to preach the Lent sermons before his Majesty, which office he performed during the three first years of his reign.

In the intervals of his preaching at Court, we find him travelling up and down the country, preaching, as Mr. Fox informs us, generally twice every Sunday, to the no small shame of unpreaching prelates in that and some succeeding ages. Several of these, as well as some of his Court, sermons, are preserved in the following collection, and from them the judicious reader will form the best idea of his pulpit abilities : for although they are acknowledged far from exact compositions, yet the simplicity and smartness of their style, with the benevolence and piety with which they abound, will always recommend them. The principal thing, however, for which his discourses have been admired, is, the boldness and zeal with which he reproved the great men of his age ; so far from flattering their vices, as has been the too common practice of Court preachers, he always reproved them in the most severe and pointed language ; and if in the course of his perambulations in the country, he heard any instances of oppression, bribery, or injustice, he was sure to report them to the Court in his next opportunity of preaching before them. Thus he became constantly resorted to as the friend and patron of the poor ; and was always dreaded as the scourge, if not the reformer of the wicked. When in addition to these considerations, we recollect his animated and fervent delivery, we shall not wonder at his

popularity. What comes immediately from the heart, as his discourses did, will have more effect than the most laboured compositions coolly read.

Neither, however, our Bishop's integrity, or popularity, were sufficient to prevent a slander, which has been handed down to the present times. The matter of it is, that after the Lord High Admiral's attainder and execution, which happened about this time, he publicly defended his death in a sermon before the King; that he aspersed his character; and that he did it merely to pay a servile compliment to the Protector. The first part of the charge is true, but the second and third are false. As to his aspersing the Admiral's character, his character was so bad, there was no room for aspersion; his treasonable practices too were notorious, and though the proceeding against him by a bill in parliament, according to the custom of those times, may be deemed iniquitable, yet he paid no more than a due forfeit to the laws of his country. However, his death occasioned great clamour, and was made use of by the Lords of the opposition (for he left a very dissatisfied party behind him) as a handle to raise a popular odium against the Protector, for whom Mr. Latimer had always a very high esteem. He was mortified therefore to see so invidious and base an opposition thwarting the schemes of so public-spirited a man; and endeavoured to lessen the odium, by shewing the Admiral's character in its true light, from some anecdotes not commonly known.

On the sixth of July, 1553, King Edward died, and was succeeded by the Princess Mary, who being a professed Roman Catholic, a great change immediately happened in religious affairs. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had temporized all the short reign of Edward VI. came now a fresh into play, and he was the inveterate and avowed enemy of Mr. Latimer. Soon after Queen Mary was proclaimed, he procured that Latimer should be cited to appear before the council. Accordingly a pursuivant was sent express to serve him with a citation; which Latimer understanding six hours before hand, got himself

himself ready to receive the purfuivant, and to accompany him to London.

The messenger finding this, expressed his surprize ; but Latimer said : ‘ My friend, you are a welcome messenger to me ; be it known to you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London, being called by my Prince, to render an account of my doctrine, as ever I went to any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent Princes, so will he enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally.’ The purfuivant acquainted him, that his orders were to leave the citation with him, but not to seize his person, and he might take his own time to go to London, and so departed. Hence some have imagined that the secret design of thus serving on him a citation was to drive him out of the kingdom, that so they might get rid of him, lest his firmness and constancy should confound them, and confirm the Protestants.

But Latimer was one who never fled from danger and a prison. He imitated his great Master, and suffered for the truth patiently. He therefore, though very old, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and it was now winter time, immediately set out for London ; and in his way to Court, (which was then kept in Bridewell) passing through Smithfield, the common place for burning heretics, said, ‘ This place hath long groaned for me.’ The next day, the thirteenth of September, he appeared before the Council, and after being in a very rude manner examined, was committed a close prisoner to the Tower. In this situation he behaved himself cheerfully ; and it being cold frosty weather, and the servant belonging to the Lieutenant of the Tower, appointed to attend him, neglecting to light him a fire, he merrily bid the servant to tell his master, ‘ That if he did not look better to him, perchance he should deceive him.’ The servant immediately told his master what the prisoner had said to him ; whereupon the Lieutenant imagining that he had some design of making his escape, came and severely

verely reprimanded him, reciting at the same time the words he had said to his servant. 'Why, truly,' replied honest Latimer, 'you look that I should be burnt; but unless you let me have some fire, the weather is so cold, and I am so far advanced in years, I am like to be starved to death with cold.' The Lieutenant now understanding Latimer's merry threatening, ordered the servant to be more careful for the future in attending upon him.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life, only he now met with harsher treatment, and had more frequent occasion to exercise his resignation, which virtue no man possessed in a larger measure; nay, even the usual cheerfulness of his disposition did not now forsake him.

Cranmer and Ridley were soon after made prisoners in the same cause with our author; and when it was resolved to have a public disputation at Oxford between the most eminent of the Popish and Protestant divines, these three were appointed to manage the dispute on the part of the Protestants: accordingly they were taken out of the Tower, and sent to Oxford, where they were closely confined in the common prison, and might easily imagine how free the disputation was likely to be, when they found themselves denied the use even of books and pen and ink.

Mr. Fox has preserved a conference afterwards put into writing, which was held at this time between Ridley and Latimer, which sets our author's temper in a strong light. The two Bishops are represented sitting in their prison, ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, of which, probably, they were now first informed. Ridley began first. 'The time,' said he, 'is now come; we are now called upon, either to deny our faith, or to suffer death in its defence. You, Mr. Latimer, are an old soldier of Christ, and have frequently withstood the fear of death, whereas I am raw in the service and unexperienced.' With this preface he introduces a request, that Mr. Latimer, whom he
calls

calls his father, would hear him propose such arguments as he thinks it most likely his adversaries would urge against him, and assist him with providing himself with proper answers to them.

To this Mr. Latimer, in his usual strain of good humour, replied, that he fancied that the good Bishop was treating him as he remembered Mr. Bilney used formerly to do, who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himself: ‘but in the present case,’ said he, ‘my Lord, I am determined to give them very little trouble; I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith, and shall say very little more, for I know any thing more will be to no purpose; they talk of a free disputation, but I am well assured their grand argument will be, as it once was their forefathers, “We have a law, and by our law ye ought to die.”’ Bishop Ridley having afterwards desired his prayers, that he might trust wholly upon God—‘Of my prayers,’ replied the old Bishop, ‘you may be well assured; nor do I doubt but I shall have yours in return: and indeed prayer and patience should be our great resources. For myself, had I the learning of St. Paul, I should think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence: yet our case, my Lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at a point with them; stand to that, and let them say and do what they please. To use many words would be vain: yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgement-hall, a man may keep silence after the example of Christ. As for their sophistry, you know falsehood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. But, above all things, be upon your guard against the fear of death: this is the great argument you must oppose.---Poor Shaxton! * it

* An unhappy apostate, who afterwards became a cruel persecutor.

‘ is to be feared this argument had the greatest weight in
 ‘ his recantation. But let us be stedfast and unmove-
 ‘ able, assuring ourselves, that we cannot be more happy,
 ‘ than by being such Philippians, as not only believe in
 ‘ Christ, but dare suffer for his sake.’

About the middle of April 1554, our author, as also Cranmer and Ridley, was brought repeatedly from prison to St. Mary’s Church, in Oxford, to dispute on the sacrifice of the mass; but instead of disputing, he only simply told them his faith, and gave them a few of the reasons on which that faith was grounded. His treatment may be judged of from the following passage, which occurs in his last examination, and was addressed to Dr. Weston, the Procurator.

‘ I have taken the more pains to protest, because I re-
 ‘ fused to dispute, in consideration of my debility there-
 ‘ unto; that all men may know, I have so done not
 ‘ without great pains, having no man to help me, as I
 ‘ have never before been debarred to have. O Sir, you
 ‘ may chance to live till you come to the age and weak-
 ‘ ness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two
 ‘ Kings more than once, two or three hours together,
 ‘ without interruption: but now, that I am to speak the
 ‘ truth, by your leave, I could not be suffered to declare
 ‘ my mind before you, no, not for one quarter of an hour,
 ‘ without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such
 ‘ as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my
 ‘ life long. Surely it is an heinous offence that I have
 ‘ given. But what was it? Forsooth, I had spoken of
 ‘ the four marrowbones of the mass. The which kind
 ‘ of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy
 ‘ Ghost. I could not be allowed to shew what I meant
 ‘ by my metaphor; but now by your favour I will tell you,
 ‘ Master, what I mean. The first (marrowbone) is the
 ‘ popish consecration, which hath been called God’s body
 ‘ making. The second is transubstantiation. The third
 ‘ is missal oblation. And the fourth is adoration.

‘ These chief and principal portions, parts, and points
 ‘ belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed
 and

‘ and had in price in the same, I call the marrowbones of
 ‘ the mass, which, indeed, you by violence intrude in sound
 ‘ of words into the scripture, racking and injuring the
 ‘ same; but else, indeed, plainly out of the scripture cannot
 ‘ prove, as I am thoroughly persuaded, although in dis-
 ‘ putation I now could nothing do to persuade the same
 ‘ to others, being now unapt to study, and not having
 ‘ words in such readiness as would be requisite to the
 ‘ same.’

Agreeably to this noble fortitude did our author behave himself through this dispute; wherein, though much artifice was used for the purpose, he never could be drawn into any formal reasoning with his adversaries. Mr. Addison * greatly admires his behaviour on this occasion: ‘ This venerable old man,’ says he, ‘ knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions, who were in the full possession of their parts and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason: as for himself, he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die.’—The truth is, he knew it would answer no end to be more explicit.

However, he answered their questions as far as civility required, and in those answers it is observable he managed the argument much better than either Ridley or Cranmer, who, when they were pressed, in defence of transubstantiation, with some passages from the fathers, instead of disavowing an insufficient authority, weakly defended a good cause, evading and distinguishing after the manner of schoolmen. Whereas, when the same proofs were multiplied upon Latimer, he told them plainly, that such proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers, no doubt, were often deceived, and that he never depended upon them, but when they depended upon scripture.

* Spectator, Number 365.

‘ Then you are not of St. Chrysostom’s faith,’ replied his antagonist, ‘ nor of St. Austin’s.’ ‘ I have told you,’ says Mr. Latimer, ‘ I am not, except when they bring ‘ scripture for what they say.’

The dispute, if it may be so called, being ended, and Latimer refusing to subscribe, sentence was passed upon him ; on which occasion he exclaimed, ‘ I thank God ‘ most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this ‘ end, that I may glorify God by this kind of death.’ To whom Weston replied, ‘ If you go to Heaven in this ‘ faith, I am certain I shall never come there.’

It was not judged prudent to execute this sentence till the Parliament had revived the six bloody articles, above alluded to ; * which being done, the sixteenth of October, 1555, was fixed for his and Bishop Ridley’s execution.

About eight o’clock in the morning Ridley and Latimer were conducted from the Mayor’s house to the place of execution, which was on the north side of the town over against Baliol College. In their way thither, Ridley went some way before ; but he looking back, espied Latimer coming after, and said, ‘ O, be ye there ?’ ‘ Yea,’ said Master Latimer, ‘ have after as fast as I can ‘ follow.’ Bishop Ridley first entered the lists, dressed in his episcopal habit ; and, soon after, Bishop Latimer, as usual, in his prison garb. This difference in their dress made a moving contrast, and augmented greatly the concern of the spectators ; the one shewing what they had before been, the latter what they were now reduced to.

While these two great men stood before the stake ready to be sacrificed, Dr. Smith preached to them from these words : ‘ Though I give my body to be burned, and ‘ have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.’ From whence he took occasion to reproach the two sufferers, and to asperse both their characters and tenets. He concluded with an exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else, he affirmed, were condemned.

The Bishop of London (Ridley) desired that he might reply to the sermon, but the Vice-Chancellor ran towards him, and stopping his mouth with his hand, told him, 'That if he would revoke his erroneous opinions, and recant the same, he should not only have liberty so to do, but also his life.' To whom Ridley thus replied, 'Well, so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth; God's will be done in me; we commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall judge all.' To all which Master Latimer heartily assented. Whereupon they were commanded immediately to make themselves ready for the stake. The attention of the spectators, at length, burst into tears, when they saw these two venerable men now preparing for death; they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honour, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learning, about to be consumed in one moment.

Master Latimer now suffered the keeper to pull off his prison garb, and then he appeared in a shroud; and 'whereas before,' says Mr. Fox, 'he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might any where behold.' Being ready, he fervently recommended his soul to God, and then delivered himself to the executioner, saying to the Bishop of London these prophetic words: 'We shall this day, my Lord, light such a candle in England, as shall never be extinguished.'

Such was the life of Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, one of the leaders of that glorious army of martyrs who introduced the reformation in England. He had a happy temper, formed on the principles of Christian philosophy. Such was his cheerfulness, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him. Such was his fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, and hold the world at defiance.

And, as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him. Though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved to the last a rare instance of moderation, his primæval plainness. In his profession he was indefatigable: and that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest, constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with censorian dignity, and awed vice more than the penal laws.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning, and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but, for honesty and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, that should adorn the life of a Christian; he was eminent and exemplary beyond most men of his own or of any other time; well deserving that evangelical commendation, ‘With the testimony of a good conscience in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, he had his conversation in the world.’

S E R M O N I.

THE CHRISTIAN WARFARE,

*Preached at the Time of the Insurrection
in the North, 1535.*

EPHESIANS VI. 10, &c.

My brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, &c.

SAINTE Paul the holy apostle writeth this epistle unto the Ephesians, that is, to the people of the city of Ephesus. He writeth generally, to them all: and in the former chapters he teacheth them severally, how they should behave themselves in every estate, one to another: how they should obey their rulers; how wives should behave themselves toward their husbands; children toward their parents; and servants toward their masters: and how husbands, parents, and masters should behave them, and love their wives, children and servants; and generally each to love other.

Now cometh he forth and comforteth them, and teacheth them to be bold, and to play the men, and fight manfully. For they must fight with valiant warriors, as appeareth afterward in the text. And against they come to fight he comforteth them, saying, 'my brethren:' he calleth them brethren; for though he thought them before to be subject to kings and rulers, and to be obedient to their superiors, yet he teacheth them that in Christ we be all brethren, according to the saying in the same chapter,

chapter, 'God is no acceptor of persons. My brethren,' saith he, 'be ye comforted, be ye strong;' not trusting to yourselves; no, but be bold, and comforted by our Lord, and by the power of his virtue: not by your own virtue, for it is not of power to resist such assaults as he speaks of hereafter. 'Put on, or apparel you with the 'armour of God:' armour is an apparel to clothe a man, and maketh him seemly and comely; setteth forth his body, and maketh him strong and bold in battle. And therefore Saint Paul exhorteth generally his brethren to be armed; and as the assaults be strong, and not small, so he giveth strong armour, and not small; 'Put on,' saith he, 'the armour of God.' He speaketh generally of armour, but afterwards he speaketh particularly of the parts of armour, where he saith, be armed complete, be armed on every part, with the armour of God; not borrowed, nor patched, but all godly. And as armour setteth forth a man's body, so this godly armour maketh us seemly in the fight of God, and acceptable in his wars.

Be ye therefore armed at all points with the armour of God, that ye may stand strongly against the assaults of the devil. "That ye may stand," saith he: ye must stand in this battle, and not sit, nor lie along; for he that lieth is trodden under foot of his enemy. We may not sit, that is, not rest in sin, or lie along in sluggishness of sin, but continually fight against our enemy, and under our great Captain and Sovereign Lord, Jesus Christ, and in his quarrel, armed with the armour of God, that we may be strong. We cannot be strong unless we be armed of God. We have no power of ourselves to stand against the assaults of the devil. There St. Paul teacheth what our battle is, and wherefore we must be thus armed.

For, saith he, 'we have not wrestling or strife against 'flesh and blood;' which may be understood, against certain sins, which come of the flesh only: but let us take it as it stands, 'against flesh and blood,' that is, against any corporal man, which is but a weak thing in comparison, and with one stroke destroyed or slain: but we have to do with strong, mighty princes and potentates,

that mighty prince, that great conqueror in this world, the devil; for though our Saviour Jesus Christ conquered him and all his, by suffering his blessed passion, yet is he a conqueror in this world, and reigneth over a great multitude of his own, and maketh continual assaults against the rest, to subdue them also under his power: which, if they be armed after the manner of St. Paul's teaching, shall stand strongly against his assaults. 'Our battle,' saith St. Paul, 'is against princes and potentates;' that is, against devils. For after the common opinion, there fell from heaven of every order of angels, as of potentates. He saith also, 'against worldly rulers of these darkneses.'* For, as doctors write, the spirits that fell with Lucifer have their being in the air, and in darknes, and the rulers of this world, by God's sufferance, to hurt, vex, and assault them that live upon the earth. For their nature is, as they are damned, to desire to draw all mankind into like damnation; such is their malice. Against these we wrestle, and 'against spiritual wickedness in high places,' or in the air; or we fight against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things.†

Think you not that this our enemy, this prince with all his potentates, hath great and fore assaults to lay against our armour? Yea, he is a crafty warrior, and also of great power in this world; he hath great ordinance and artillery; he hath great pieces of ordinance, as mighty kings and emperors, to shoot against God's people, to persecute or kill them, such as Nero, the great tyrant who slew Paul, and divers others. Yea, what great pieces hath he had of bishops of Rome, which have destroyed whole cities and countries, and have slain and burnt many? What great guns were those?

* Or "against the rulers of the darkness of this world," as we render it; *i. e.* either fallen spirits, as our preacher explains it; or, wicked rulers, who endeavour to hold mankind in chains of ignorance and superstition, as Doddridge and others explain it.

† The Greek (*ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*) is ambiguous, and will admit either of these translations.

Yea,

Yea, he hath also ordinance evil enough, they may be called *serpentes* : * Some bishops in divers countries, and here in England, with which he hath shot some good christian men that they have blown to ashes. So can this great captain, the devil, shoot his ordinance. He hath yet less ordinance, for he hath of all sorts to shoot at good christian men ; he hath hand-guns and bows which do much hurt, though not so much as the great ordinance : these be accusers, promoters, and slanderers ; they be evil ordinance ; shrewd hand-guns and bows ; they put a man to great displeasure, oftentimes death cometh upon that shot. For these things, saith the text, ' take the ' armour of God.' Against the great captains of the devils, and against their artillery, their ministers, there can nothing defend us but the armour of God.

Take therefore this armour, saith the text, ' that ye ' may resist in the evil day, and in all things stand perfectly, or be perfectly strong.' This evil day is not so called here, because any day or time is of itself evil ; for God made every day good : but St. Paul calleth it the evil day, because of the misfortune that cometh in that day. As we have a common saying, I have had an evil day, or an evil night, because of the heaviness or evil that hath happened therein : so saith St. Paul, ' that ye may resist in ' the evil day.' That is, when your great adversary hath compassed you round about with his potentates and rulers, and with his artillery, so that you be almost overcome, then, if you have the armour of God, you shall be strong, and need not to fear his assaults.

St. Paul hath spoken of this armour of God generally ; and now declareth the parts and pieces of armour, and teacheth them how to apparel every part of the body with this armour. He beginneth yet again, saying, ' Be ' strong, having your reins, or your loins, girded about.' Some men of war use to have about their loins a girdle of mail, girt fast for the safeguard of the nether part of their

* Our Preacher here seems to allude both to the *mischiefe* these persecutors did, and the *crafty* manner in which they affected it.

body. So St. Paul would that we should gird our loins, which betokeneth lewdness, or other sinfulness, with a girdle, which is to be taken for a restraint, or continence from such vices. *In truth, or truly girt*; * it may not be feigned, or falsely girt, but in verity and truth. There be many batchelors, as yet men unmarried, which seem to be girt with the girdle of continence, and yet it is not in truth, it is but feignedly. And some religious persons make a profession of continence or chastity, and yet not in truth, their hearts being not truly chaste. Such feigned girding of the loins, cannot make a man strong to resist the assaults of the great captain or enemy in the evil day. Yet some get them girdles with great knots, as though they would be surely girt, and as though they would break the devil's head with their knotted girdles: but he will not be so overcome; it is no knot of an hempen girdle that he feareth; that is no piece of the armour of God.

'And be ye apparelled or cloathed,' saith St. Paul, 'with the habergeon, or coat armour of justice, that is, righteousness.'† Let your body be clothed in the armour of righteousness; ye may do no wrong to any man, but live in righteousness, not clothed with any false quarrel or private grudge: ye must live rightly in God's law, following his commandments and doctrine, clothed righteously in his armour, and not in any feigned armour, as in a friar's coat or cowl: for the assaults of the devil be crafty, to make us put our trust in such armour; he will feign himself to fly, but then we be most in jeopardy; for he can give us an after-clap when we least expect; that is, suddenly return unawares to us, and then he giveth us an after-clap that overthroweth us: this armour deceiveth us.

* Our translators have rendered the preposition (εἰς) *with*, as it frequently means, and in this place gives the best sense 'girt about with truth.' See Isaiah xi. 5.

† We render it, "having on the breast plate (τοῦ θώρακος) of righteousness;" which is more exact.

In like manner, those men in the North * Country, they make pretence as though they were armed in God's armour, girt in truth, and clothed in righteousness. I hear say they wear the cross and the wounds before and behind, and they pretend much truth to the King's grace, and to the commonwealth, when they intend nothing less; and deceive the poor ignorant people, and bring them to fight against both the King, the Church, and the Commonwealth.

They arm them with the sign of the cross, and of the wounds, and go clean contrary to him that bore the cross, and suffered those wounds. They rise for the King, and fight against the King in his ministers and officers; they rise for the church, and fight against the church, which is the congregation of faithful men; they rise for the commonwealth, and fight against it, and go about to make the commons to kill each other, and to destroy the commonwealth. Lo, what false pretences can the devil send among us! It is one of his most crafty and subtle assaults, to send his warriors forth under the badge of God, as though they were armed in righteousness and justice.

But if we will resist strongly indeed, we must be clothed or armed with the armour of strict justice or righteousness, in true obedience to our prince, and faithful love to our neighbours, and take no false quarrels in hand, nor any feigned armour; but in justice, 'having your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.'

* Among other attempts to crush the Reformation, this year about 40,000 men, headed by some of the turbulent abbots and discontented clergy, took arms, under pretence of rescuing the church, which they now supposed in immediate danger. Their ensigns represented on one side a crucifix, and on the other the chalice and wafer of their sacrifice of the mass. The Earl of Shrewsbury, Duke of Norfolk, &c. being sent against them, totally subdued them, and many were executed both in town and in different parts of the country, among whom were the Lords Darcy, Hussey, Constable, and other persons of distinction.

Lo,

Lo, what manner of battle this warrior St. Paul teacheth us, 'to be shod on our feet,' that we may go readily and prepare the way for the gospel, yea, the gospel of peace, not of rebellion, nor of insurrection; no, it teacheth obedience, humility, and quietness; it maketh peace in the conscience, and teacheth us true faith in Jesus Christ, and to walk in God's laws, armed with God's armour, as St. Paul teacheth here. Yea, if our Bishops in England had been 'shod for the preparation of the gospel,' and had endeavoured themselves to teach and set it forth, as our most noble Prince hath devised; also, if certain gentlemen, being justices, had executed his Grace's commandment, in setting forth this gospel of peace, this disturbance among the people had not happened.

But ye say, it is new learning. Now I tell you, it is the old learning. Yea, ye say, it is old heresy new scoured. Now I tell you it is old truth, long rusted with canker, and now new made bright and scoured. What a rusty truth is this, 'Whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven!'^{*} This is a truth spoken to the apostles, and all true preachers their successors, that with the law of God they should bind and condemn all that sinned; and whosoever did repent, they should declare him loosed and forgiven, by believing in the blood of Christ. But how hath this truth been over-rusted with the Pope's rust! For he, by this text, 'Whatsoever thou bindest,' &c. hath taken upon him to make what laws he listed, clean contrary to the word of God, which willeth that every man should obey the Prince's law. And by this text, 'Whatsoever thou loosest,' &c. he hath made all people believe, that for money he might forgive what and whom he listed. So that if any man had robbed his master, or taken any thing wrongfully, the Pope would loose him, by this pardon or that pardon, given to these friars or those friars, put in this box or that box. And as it were, by these means, a division of the spoil

^{*} Matt. xvi. 19.

was made, so that it was not restored, nor the person rightly discharged; and yet most part of the spoil came to the hands of him and his ministers. What is this but a new learning; a new canker to rust and corrupt the old truth? Ye call your learning old; it may indeed be called old, for it cometh of that Serpent which did pervert God's commandment and beguiled Eve; so it is an old custom to pervert God's word, and to rust it, and corrupt it.

We be a great many that profess to be true ministers of the gospel, but at the trial, I think it will come to pass as it did with Gideon, a captain, which God raised up to deliver the children of Israel from the Midianites, in whose hands they had fallen, because they had broken God's commandment, and displeased him; yet at length he had compassion on them, and raised up Gideon to deliver them. And when they heard that they had a captain that should deliver them, they assembled a great number, about thirty thousand; but when it came to pass that they should fight, they departed all, save five hundred. So, I fear me, that at the trial, there will be found but few ministers of the true gospel of peace, and armed in the true armour of God.

It followeth, 'And above all things take the shield or 'buckler of faith.' The buckler is a thing wherewith a man most chiefly defendeth himself; and that must be perfect faith in Jesus Christ, in our captain, and in his word. It must also be a true faith, it is else no part of the armour of God; it must not be feigned, but a sure buckler, which may stop or quench the violence of the flaming darts of the most wicked.

'Take also the helmet of health,'* or true health in Jesus Christ, for there is no health in any other man: not the health of a grey friar's coat, or the health of this pardon, or that pardon; that were a false helmet, and should not defend from the violence of the wicked.

* Or *Salvation*, as we read it, but the old translation evidently meant the same thing by the word *health*.

‘ And the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.’ Lo, St. Paul teacheth you for the battle, to take in your left hand the shield of faith, to defend and bear off the darts of the devil ; and in the other hand, a sword to strike with against the enemy ; for a good man of war may not stand against, and defend only, but must also strike against his enemy. So St. Paul giveth us here a sword, ‘ The word of God.’ For this sword is it that beateth this great captain our enemy. Christ himself gave us an example to fight with this sword, for he answered the devil with the Scripture, and said, ‘ It is written.’ * With this sword he drove away the devil ; and so let us break his head with this sword, the true word of God, and not with any word of the Bishop of Rome’s making ; not with his old learning, nor his new learning, but with the pure word of God. The time passeth, I will therefore make an end.

Let us fight manfully, and not cease ; for no man is crowned or rewarded but in the end. We must therefore fight continually, and with this sword, and thus armed, and we shall receive the reward of victory. And thus the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all your spirits. *Amen.*

* Matthew iv. 4, &c.

SERMON

S E R M O N . II.

THE UNJUST STEWARD.

*Preached before the Convocation of the Clergy,
June 6, 1536.*

Translated from the Latin.

BRETHREN, ye be come together this day, as far as I perceive, to hear of great and weighty matters. Ye come together to entreat of things that most appertain to the commonwealth. This being thus, ye look, I am assured, to hear of me, who am commanded to make as a preface, this exhortation, albeit I am unlearned and far unworthy to utter such things as shall be meet for this your assembly. I therefore, not only very desirous to obey the commandment of our primate, but also greatly coveting to serve and satisfy all your expectations; lo, briefly and as plainly as I can, will speak of matters both worthy to be heard in your congregation, and also of such as shall best become my office in this place. That I may do this the more commodiously, I shall take that notable sentence, in which our Lord was not afraid to pronounce, ‘ the children of this world to be much more prudent and ‘ politic, than the children of light in their generation.’ Neither will I be afraid, trusting that he will aid and guide me to use this sentence, as a good ground and foundation of all such things, as hereafter I shall speak of.

Now I suppose that you see right well, being men of such learning, for what purpose the Lord said this, and that ye have no need to be holpen with any part of my labour in this thing. But yet, if ye will pardon me, I will wade somewhat deeper in this matter, and as nigh as
I can,

I can, fetch it from the beginning. For undoubtedly, ye may much marvel at that saying, if ye will ponder both what is said, and who saith it. Define me first these things,----what prudence is,----what the world,----what light,----and who be the children of the world,----who of the light; see what they signify in scripture. I marvel if ye will all agree, that the children of the world should be wiser than the children of the light. To come somewhat nigher the matter, thus the Lord beginneth:

L U K E XVI. 1, 2.

There was a certain rich man which had a Steward; and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods. And he called him, and said unto him, how is it that I hear this of thee? give an account of thy Stewardship: for thou mayst no longer be Steward.

BRETHREN, because these words are spoken in a parable, and are so wrapped in wrinkles, that yet they seem to have a face and similitude of a thing done indeed, and like an history, I think it profitable to tarry somewhat in them. And though we may perchance find in our hearts to believe all that is there spoken to be true; yet I doubt whether we may abide it, that these words of Christ do pertain unto us, and admonish us of our duty, which act and live after such sort, as though Christ, when he spake any thing, neither provided for us, or any matters of ours; as some of the philosophers thought, which said, that God walketh up and down in heaven, and thinketh nothing of our affairs. But, my good brethren, err not you so; stick not you to such your imaginations. For if ye inwardly behold these words, if you diligently roll them in your minds, and after explicate and open them, ye shall see our time much touched in these mysteries. Ye shall perceive very plainly, that God setteth before our eyes in this similitude, what we ought most to see, and what we ought soonest to follow. For St. Luke saith,

faith, 'the Lord spake these words to his disciples.' Wherefore let it be out of all doubt, that he spake them to us, which even as we will be counted the successors and vicars of Christ's disciples, so we be, if we be good dispensers, and do our duty. He said these things partly to us, which spake them partly of himself. For he is that rich man, which not only had, but hath, and shall evermore have, I say not one, but many Stewards, even to the end of the world.

He is man, seeing that he is God and man. He is rich not only in mercy, but in all kind of riches: for it is he that giveth to us all things abundantly; it is he at whose hand we receive both our lives, and all other things necessary for the preservation of the same. What man hath any thing, I pray you, but he hath received it of his plentifulness? To be short, it is he that 'openeth his hand, 'and filleth all things living with his blessing,' and giveth unto us in most ample wise his benediction. Neither can his treasure be spent, how much soever we lavish out, how much soever we take of him, his treasure tarrieth still, ever taking, never spent.

He is also the good man of the house; the church is his household, which ought with all diligence to be fed with his word, and his sacraments. These be his goods most precious, the dispensation and administration whereof he would bishops and curates should have. Which thing St. Paul affirmeth, saying, 'Let men esteem us as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of God's mysteries.'* But, I pray you, what is to be looked for in a steward? This surely, 'that he be found faithful,' and that he truly dispense, and lay out the goods of the Lord; that he give meat in time, give it, I say, and not sell it; meat, I say, and not poison. For the one doth intoxicate and slay the eater, the other feedeth and nourisheth him. Finally, let him not neglect nor defer the doing of his office, but let him do his duty when time is, and need requireth it. This is also to be looked for, that he be one whom God hath called, and put in office, and not one that cometh uncalled,

* I. Cor. iv. 1, 2.

unsent for ; not one that of himself presumeth to take honour upon him. And surely, if all this that I say be required in a good minister, it is much lighter to require them all in every one, than to find one any where that hath them all. Who is a true and faithful steward ? He is true, he is faithful, that coineth no new money, but seeketh it ready coined of the good man of the house ; and neither changeth it, nor clippeth it, after it is taken to him to spend, but spendeth even the self-same that he had of his Lord, and spendeth it as his Lord commanded him ; neither to his own advantage uttering it ; neither as the slothful servant did, hiding it in the ground. Brethren, if a faithful steward ought to do as I have said, I pray you ponder and examine this well, whether our bishops and abbots, prelates and curates, have been hitherto faithful stewards or no ? Ponder, whether yet many of them be as they should be or no ? Go to, tell me now as your conscience leadeth you, (I will let pass to speak of many other) were there not some, that despising the money of the Lord, as copper and not current, either coined new themselves, or else uttered abroad that newly coined of others, some time either adulterating the word of God, or else mingling it (as vintners do, the bad and good both in one vessel) sometime in the stead of God's word, delivering the dreams of men. While they thus preached to the people, the redemption that cometh by Christ's death, to serve only them that died before his coming, that were in the time of the Old Testament ; and that now since, redemption and forgiveness of sins purchased by money, and devised by men, is of efficacy, and not redemption purchased by Christ : they have a wonderful pretty example to enforce this thing, of a certain married woman, who when her husband was in purgatory, in that fiery furnace that hath burned away so many of our pence, paid her husband's ransom, and so of course claimed him to be set at liberty. While they thus preached to the people, that dead images, which at the first were set up, as I think, only to represent things absent, not only ought to be covered with gold, but also

ought, of all faithful and christian people, even in this scarceness and penury of all things, to be clad with silk garments, and those also laden with precious gems and jewels. That besides all this, they are to be lighted with wax candles, both within the church and without the church, yea, and at noon day; as who should say, here no cost can be too great: whereas, in the mean time, we see Christ's faithful and lively images, bought with no less price than with his most precious blood, alas, to be an hungred, athirst, cold, and to lie in darkness, wrapped in all wretchedness, yea, to lie there till death take away their miseries.—While they preached these will-works, that come of their own devotion, although they be not so necessary as the works of mercy, and the precepts of God, yet they said in the pulpit, that will-works were more important, more excellent, and, plainly to utter what they mean, more acceptable to God, than works of mercy; as though now man's inventions and fancies could please God better than his precepts, or strange things better than his own: while they thus preached, that more fruit, more devotion cometh of the beholding of an image, though it be but a Pater-noster while,* than is gotten by reading and contemplating Scripture, though you read and contemplate therein seven years space. Finally, while they preached thus, souls tormented in purgatory to have most need of our help, and that they can have no aid, but of us in this world (of the which two, if the one be not false, yet, at the least, it is uncertain, and rashly affirmed; the other, manifestly false). I let pass to speak of much other such like counterfeit doctrine, which hath been preached by some for the space of three hours together. Be these christian and divine mysteries, and not rather the dreams of men? Be these the faithful dispensers of God's mysteries, and not rather false dissipators of them? Whom God never put in office, but rather the devil set them over a miserable family, over an house miserably ordered and managed. Happy were the people, if such preached seldom!

* That is, while the Pater-noster might be repeated.

And yet it is a wonder to see these, in their generation, to be much more prudent and politic than the faithful ministers are in their generation; while they go about more prudently to establish men's dreams, than these do to hold up God's commandments.

Thus it cometh to pass, that works lucrative, will-works, and men's fancies, reign; but christian works, necessary and fruitful works, are trodden under foot. Thus the evil is much better set out by evil men, than the good by good men: because the evil be more wise, than the good in their generation. These be the false stewards, whom all good and faithful men every day accuse unto the rich master of the household, not without great heaviness, that they waste his goods; whom he also one day will call to him, and say to them as he did to this steward, 'What is it that I hear of thee?'—Here God partly wondereth at our ingratitude and perfidy, partly chideth us for them, and being both full of wonder and ready to chide, asketh us, 'What is this that I hear of you?' As though he should say unto us; 'All good men in all places complain of you, accuse your avarice, your exactions, your tyranny: they have required in you, a long season, and do yet require, diligence and sincerity. I commanded you that, with all industry and labour, ye should feed my sheep; ye earnestly feed yourselves from day to day, wallowing in delights and idleness: I commanded you to teach my commandments, and not your fancies; and that you should seek my glory and my advantage; you teach your own traditions, and seek your own glory and profit. You preach very seldom, and when you do preach, do nothing but hinder them that preach truly, as much as lieth in you; that it were much better such were not to preach at all, than so perniciously to preach. O, what hear I of you? You, that ought to be my preachers, what other thing do you, than apply all your study to bring all my preachers to envy, shame, and contempt? Yea, more than this, ye bring them into perils, into prisons, and, as much as in you lieth, to

' cruel deaths. To be short, I would that christian peo-
 ' ple should hear my doctrine, and at their convenient
 ' leisure, read it also, as many as would; your care is not,
 ' that all men may hear, but all your care is, that no
 ' layman do read it: surely being afraid lest they by the
 ' reading should understand it, and, understanding, learn
 ' to rebuke your slothfulness. This is your generation;
 ' this is your dispensation; this is your wisdom: in this
 ' generation, in this dispensation, you be most politic,
 ' most wise. These be the things that I hear of your
 ' demeanour. I wished to hear better report of you.
 ' Have you thus deceived me? Or, have you not rather
 ' deceived yourselves? Where I had but one house, that
 ' is to say, the church, and this so dearly beloved of me,
 ' that for the love of her, I put myself forth to be slain,
 ' and to shed my blood: this church at my departure I
 ' committed to your charge, to be fed, to be nourished,
 ' and to be made much of: my pleasure was, ye should
 ' occupy my place; my desire was, ye should have borne
 ' like love to this church, and like fatherly affection, as
 ' I did: I made you my vicars, yea, in matters of most
 ' importance.

' For thus I taught openly,' "He that should hear you,
 ' should hear me; he that should despise you, should
 ' despise me." * 'I gave you also keys, not earthly
 ' keys, but heavenly. I left my goods that I have most
 ' highly esteemed, that is, my word and sacraments, to
 ' be dispensed of you. These benefits I gave you, and
 ' do you give me these thanks? Can you find in your
 ' hearts thus to abuse my goodness, benignity, and gen-
 ' tleness? Have you thus deceived me? No, no, ye have
 ' not deceived me, but yourselves. My gifts and bene-
 ' fits towards you shall be your greater damnation. Be-
 ' cause ye have contemned the lenity and clemency of the
 ' Master of the house, ye have well deserved to abide the
 ' rigour and severity of the Judge. Come forth then, let
 ' us see an account of your stewardship; (an horrible and

* Luke x, 16,

'fearful sentence !)' ye may have no longer my goods in your hands.'---A voice to weep at, and to make men tremble !

You see, brethren, you see, to what evil stewards must come. Your labour is paid for, if ye can so take heed, that no such sentence be spoken to you ; nay, we must all take heed lest these threatenings one day take place in us. But lest the length of my sermon offend you too much, I will leave the rest of the parable, and take me to the handling of the end of it ; that is, I will declare unto you, how the children of this world be more wise, crafty, and subtle, than are the children of the light in their generation. Which sentence, would to God it lay in my poor tongue to explicate with such proper words, that I may seem rather to have painted it before your eyes, than to have spoken it ; and that you might rather seem to see the thing, than to hear it : but I plainly confess this thing to be far above my power. Therefore this being only left to me, I wish for that I have not, and am sorry that it is not in me which I would so gladly have, that is, power so to handle the matter I have in hand, that all I say may turn to the glory of God, your souls' health, and the edifying of Christ's body. Wherefore I pray you all to pray with me unto God, and that also in your petitions you desire, that these two things he will vouchsafe to grant us, first, a mouth for me to speak rightly ; next, ears for you, that in hearing me, ye may take profit at my hands : and that this may come to effect, you shall desire him, unto whom our Master Christ commanded we should pray, saying even the same prayer that he himself did institute. Wherein we shall pray for our sovereign Lord the King, chief and supreme head of the Church of England, under Christ, and for the most excellent, gracious, and virtuous Lady, Queen Jane,* his most lawful wife ; and for all his, whether they be of the clergy or laity, whether they be of the nobility, or other of his Grace's subjects ;

* Lady Jane Seymour, third wife of King Henry VIII.

humbly beseeching Almighty God, that every one of us, even from the highest to the lowest, may in his degree and calling earnestly endeavour to set forth the glory of God, and the gospel of his son, Christ Jesus, that so living in his fear and love, we may in the end of our days depart out of this life in his friendship and favour. For these graces, and what else his wisdom knoweth most needful for us, let us pray as we are taught, saying,

OUR Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name : thy kingdom come : thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven : give us this day our daily bread : and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us : and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil : for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON

S E R M O N I I I .

T H E U N J U S T S T E W A R D .

Preached on the Afternoon of the same day.

L U K E X V I . 8 .

*For the children of this world are in their generation wiser than
the children of light.*

C H R I S T in this saying touched the sloth and sluggishness of his, and did not allow the fraud and subtilty of others ; neither was glad that it was indeed as he said, but complained rather that it should be so ; as many men speak many things, not that they ought to be so, but that they are wont to be so. Nay, this grieved Christ, that the children of this world should be of more policy than the children of the light ; which thing was true in Christ's time ; and even now in our time is most true. Who is so blind but he seeth this clearly, except perchance there be any that cannot discern the children of the world from the children of light ? The children of the world conceive and bring forth more providently, and things conceived and brought forth they nourish and conserve with much more policy, than do the children of light. Which thing is as sorrowful to be said, as it seemeth absurd to be heard. When ye hear of the children of the world, you conceive the world as a father. For the world is father of many children, not by the first creation and work, but by imitation and love. He is not only a father, but also the son of another father. If ye once knew his father, by and by ye shall know his children ; for he that hath the devil to his father, must needs have devilish children. The devil is not only taken for a father, but also for a prince
of

of the world, that is, of worldly folk. It is either all one thing, or else not much different, to say, 'children of the world, and children of the devil:' according to that which Christ said to the Jews, 'Ye are of your father the devil:'* whereas undoubtedly he spake to the children of this world. Now seeing the devil is both the author and ruler of darknes, in the which the children of this world walk, or, to say better, wander, they mortally hate both the light, and the children of light. And hereof it cometh, that the children of light never, or very seldom, lack persecution in this world, unto which the children of the world bring them. And there is no man but he seeth that these use much more policy in procuring the hurt and damage of the good, than those in defending themselves. Therefore, brethren, gather you the disposition and study of the children by the disposition and study of the fathers. Ye know this is a proverb much used: An evil crow, an evil egg. Then the children of this world that are known to have so evil a father, the world, so evil a grandfather, the devil, cannot chuse but be evil. Surely the first head of their ancestry was the deceitful serpent, the devil, a monster monstrous above all monsters. I cannot wholly expresse him, I know not what to call him, but a certain thing altogether made of the hatred of God, of mistrust in God, of deceits, discord, manslaughter; and, in a word, a thing concrete and heaped up of perjuries, and of all kind of mischief. But what, think ye, mean I to describe particularly the devil's nature, when no reason, no power of man's mind can comprehend it? This only I can say generally, and in sum, of the which we all have experience, the devil is a filthy lake of all vices, a foul channel of all mischiefs, and that this world, his son, (even a child meet to have such a parent) is not much unlike his father.

Then this devil being such a one as cannot be unlike himself: lo, of Envy, his well beloved mistress, he begot the world, and after left it with Discord at nurse; which

* John viii. 44.

world, after that it came to man's estate, had of many concubines, many sons; he was such a father, and had gotten so many children of Lady Pride, Dame Gluttony, Mistress Avarice, Lady Lewdness, and of Dame Subtlety, that now ye may hardly find any corner, any kind of life, where many of his children be not. In courts, in cowls,* in cloisters, in rotchets,† be they never so white, yea where shall ye not find them? Howbeit, they that be secular and laymen, are not all children of the world, nor the children of light that are called spiritual, all of the clergy. No, no, as ye may find among the laity many children of light, so among the clergy, how much soever we arrogate these titles unto us, and think them only attributed to us; 'ye are the light of the world,‡ the chosen people of Christ, a kingly priesthood, an holy nation, and such other.'§ Ye shall find many children of the world, because in all places the world getteth many children. Among the lay people, the world ceaseth not to bring to pass, that as they be called worldly, so they are worldly indeed, driven headlong by worldly desires: inso-much that they may right well seem to have taken as well the character as the name of their father. In the clergy, the world also hath learned a way to make of spiritual men, worldlings, with great pretence of holiness, and crafty colour of religion; they utterly desire to hide and cloak the name of the world, as though they were ashamed of their father, which do execrate and detest the world (being nevertheless their father) in words and outward signs, but in heart and work they embrace and kiss him, and in all their lives declare themselves to be his children, inso-much that in all worldly points, they far pass and surmount those that they call seculars, laymen, or men of the world: the child so diligently followeth the steps of his father, never destitute of the aid of his grandfather. These be our holy men, that say they are dead to the

* The hoods of monks.

† Surplices, or rather the lawn part of a bishop's dress resembling them.

‡ Matt. v. 14.

§ I. Pet. ii. 9.

world, when no men be more lively in worldly things than some of them be. But let them be in profession and name the farthest from the world, most alienated from it, yea so far, that they may seem to have no occupying, no kindred, no affinity, nothing to do with it: yet in their life and deeds they shew themselves no bastards, but rightly begotten children of the world, as those which the World long since had by his dear wife, Dame Hypocrisy, and since hath brought them up and multiplied to more than a good many, increased them too much, albeit they swear by all the male saints and female saints too, that they know not their father, nor mother, neither the World, nor Hypocrisy, as indeed they can dissemble all things; which thing they might learn wonderful well of their parents. I speak not of all religious men, but of those that the world hath fast knit at his girdle, even in the midst of their religion, that is, of many, and more than many. For I fear, lest in all orders of men, the better, I must say, the greater part of them are children of the world. Many of these might seem ungrateful and unkind children, that will no better acknowledge and recognize their parents in words and outward pretence, but renounce and cast them off, as though they hated them as dogs and serpents. Howbeit they in this wise are most grateful to their parents, because they be most like them, so livelyly representing them in countenance and condition, that their parents seem in them to be young again, forasmuch as they ever say one thing, and think another. They seem to be as sober, as temperate, as Curio, the Roman, was, and live every day as though all their life were a Lent time. They be like their parents, I say, inasmuch as they in following them, seem and make men believe they hate them. Thus grandfather Devil, father World, and mother Hypocrisy, have brought them up. Thus good obedient sons have borne away their parents commandments; neither be these solitary, how religious, how mocking, (how monking I would say) forever they be.

But ye will lay this to my charge, that a monk and a solitary signifieth all one. I grant this, yet these cannot

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be solitary that are accompanied with great flocks of fraternities. And I marvel if there be not a great sort of prelates that are cousin German unto these, and the world's children by as good title as they. But because I cannot speak of all, when I say prelates, I understand bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, and other of such sort, that are now called to this convocation, as I see, to entreat here of nothing but of such matters as both appertain to the glory of Christ, and to the wealth of the people of England. Which thing I pray God they do as earnestly as they ought to do. But it is to be feared, that as Light hath many of her children here, so the World hath sent some of his whelps hither: amongst the which, although they be in one place, in one generation, I know there can be no agreement, as long as they have minds so unlike, and affections and judgements, so utterly diverse in all points. But if the children of this world be either more in number, or more prudent than the children of light, what then availeth us to have this convocation? Had it not been better we had not been called together at all? For as the children of this world are evil, so they breed and bring forth things evil; and yet there be more of them in all places, or, at least, they be more politic than the children of light in their generation. Howbeit, I think all you that be here were not ingendered after one generation, neither that ye all came by your promotions after one manner; God grant that ye, ingendered worldly, do not ingender worldly: and as now I regard not how ye were ingendered, or by what means ye were promoted to those dignities that ye now occupy, so that be honest, good and profitable, which ye in this your consultation shall do and ingender.

The end of your convocation shall shew what ye have done; the fruit that shall come of your consultation, shall shew what generation ye be of. For what have ye done hitherto, I pray you, these seven years and more? What have ye ingendered? What have ye brought forth? What fruit is come of your long and great assembly? What one thing that the people of England hath been an hair the

better for? Or you yourselves, either accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people committed to your cure? Or that the people is better learned and taught now, than they were in time past; to whether of these ought we to attribute it, to your industry, or to the providence of God, and the foresight of the King's grace? Ought we to thank you, or the King's Highness? Whether stirred the other first, you the King, that ye might preach, or he you by his letters, that ye should preach oftener? Is it unknown, think you, how both ye and your curates were in a manner by violence enforced to let books to be made, not by you, but by lay persons; to let them, I say, be sold abroad, and read for the instruction of the people? I am bold with you, but I speak to the clergy, not to the laity; I speak to you being present, and not behind your backs. God is my witness, I speak whatsoever is spoken of the good-will that I bear you; God is my witness, who knoweth my heart, and compelleth me to say what I say.

Now, I pray you in God's name, what did you, so great fathers, so many, so long a season, so often assembled together? What went you about? What would ye have brought to pass, two things excepted? The one, that ye, as I heard, burned a dead man: the other, that ye, went about to burn one alive. The first, because he did, I cannot tell how, in his testament withstand your profit; in other points, as I have heard, a very good man; reported to be of an honest life whilst he lived, full of good works, both good to the clergy and also to the laity. This other, which truly never hurt any of you, ye would have raked in the coals, because he would not subscribe to certain articles which took away the supremacy of the King. Take away these two noble acts, and there is nothing else left that ye went about, that I know of; saving that I now remember, that somewhat ye attempted against Erasmus,*

* This is supposed to relate to the suppression or censure of Erasmus's book of Colloquies, written in Latin, wherein are several smart and witty reflections on the monks and priests of his time.

although

although as yet nothing is come to light. Ye have oft sat in consultation, but what have ye done? Ye have had many things in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or Christ's people made more holy? I appeal to your own consciences. How chanceth this? How came this thus? Because there were no children of light, no children of God among you, which, setting the world at nought, would study to illustrate the glory of God, and thereby shew themselves children of light? I think not so; certainly I think not so. God forbid, that all you which were gathered together under the pretence of light should be children of the world. Then why happened this? Why, I pray you? Perchance either because the children of the world were more in number in this your congregation, as it oft happeneth, or, at the least, of more policy than the children of light in their generation; whereby it might very soon be brought to pass, that these were much more strong, ingendering the evil, than those in producing the good. The children of light have policy, but it is not like the policy of the serpent, and is joined with dove-like simplicity: but the children of this world have worldly policy, fox-like craft, lion-like cruelty, power to do hurt more than either asps or basilisks, ingendering and doing all things fraudulently, deceitfully, guilefully; which as Nimrod, and such sturdy and stout hunters, being full of malice and dissimulation before the Lord, deceive the children of light, and injure them easily. There hunters go not forth in every man's fight, but do their affairs closely, and with use of guile and deceit wax every day more and more crafty.

The children of this world be like crafty hunters, they be misnamed children of light, forasmuch as they so hate light, and so study to do the works of darkness. If they were the children of light, they would not love darkness. It is no marvel that they go about to keep others in darkness, seeing they be overwhelmed with darkness, darker than the darkness of hell. Wherefore it is well done in all orders of men, but especially in the order of prelates,

to put a difference between children of light, and the children of the world: because great deceit ariseth in taking the one for the other. Great imposture cometh, when they that the common people take for the light, go about to take the sun and the light out of the world; but these be easily known, both by their diversity of minds, and also their armour. For whereas the children of light are thus minded, that they seek their adversaries health, wealth, and profit, with loss of their own commodities, and oftentimes with jeopardy of their life: the children of the world, contrariwise, have such stomachs, that they will sooner see them dead than do them good, to sustain any loss of temporal things. The armour of the children of light, is first the Word of God, which they ever set forth, and with all diligence put it abroad, that, as much as in them lieth, it may bring forth fruit: after this, patience and prayer, with the which in all adversities the Lord comforteth them. Other things they commit to God, unto whom they leave all revenge. The armour of the children of this world is sometimes frauds and deceits, sometimes lies and money: by the first, they make their dreams, their traditions; by the second, they establish and confirm their dreams, be they never so absurd, never so against scripture, honesty, or reason: and if any man resist them, even with these weapons they seek to slay him. Thus they bought Christ's death, the very Light himself, and obscured him after his death; thus they buy every day the children of light, and obscure them, and shall so do, until the world be at an end. So that it may be ever true, what Christ said; 'The children of this world be wiser in their generation than the children of light.'

These worldlings pull down the lively faith and full confidence that men have in Christ, and set up another faith, another confidence, of their own making: the children of light, the contrary. These worldlings set little by such works as God hath prepared for their salvation, but they extol traditions and works of their own invention;

vention ; the children of light, the contrary. The worldlings, if they spy profit, gains, or lucre in any thing, be it never such a trifle, be it never so pernicious, they preach it to the people, if they preach at any time ; and these things they defend with tooth and nail. They can scarce disallow the abuses of these, albeit they be intolerable, lest in disallowing the abuse they lose part of their profit. The children of light, on the contrary, put all things in their degree ; the best, highest ; the worst, lowest : they extol things necessary, christian, and commanded of God ; they pull down will-works feigned by men, and put other in their place ; the abuses of all things they earnestly rebuke : but yet these things be so done by both parties, that the children of the world shew themselves wiser than the children of light, and that frauds and deceits, lies and money, seem evermore to have the upper hand. I hold my peace : I will not say how fat feasts and jolly banquets be instruments to set forth worldly matters withal. Neither be the children of the world only wiser than the children of light, but are also some of them, among themselves, much wiser than the other in their generation.

For what a thing was that, that once every hundred years was brought forth in Rome by the children of this world, and with how much policy it was made, ye heard at Paul's Cross in the beginning of the last Parliament : how some brought forth canonizations, some pluralities and unions, some tot-quotes * and dispensations, some pardons, and these of wonderful variety ; some stationaries, some jubilaries, some pocularies for drinkers, some manuaries for handlers of relics, some pedaries for pilgrims, some oscularies for kissers ; † some of them ingendered

* This word is compounded of two Latin adjectives, tot, *so many*, and quot, *how many* ; and may be supposed here to mean, the many ways and artifices the priests of this age had of getting money by imposing on the people.

† These expressions, some of which are now hardly intelligible, are intended to express the vast variety of wares sent to market at Rome ; as images, jubilee blessings, holy water, &c. and particularly relicks, to amuse the idle, protect pilgrims, and exercise the devout.

one, some other such features, and every one in that he was delivered of, was excellently wise; yea, so wise, that with their wisdom they had almost made all the world fools.

But yet they that begot and brought forth that our ancient pick-purse purgatory, that was cowed with a Franciscan's cowl, put upon a dead man's back; they, I say, that were the wise fathers and inventors of this purgatory, were, in my mind, the wisest of all their generation, and so far surpass the children of light, and also the rest of their company, that they both are but fools if ye compare them with these. It was a pleasant fiction, and from the beginning so profitable to the feigners of it, that almost, I dare boldly say, there hath been no emperor that hath gotten more by taxes and customs of them that were alive, than these truly begotten sons of the world got by dead men's tributes and gifts. If there be some in England, that would this sweating of the world * to be with no less policy kept still, than it was born and set forth in Rome; who then accuseth Christ of lying? No, no; as it hath been ever true, so it shall be, that the children of this world be much wiser, not only in making their things, but also in preserving them. I know not what it is, but somewhat it is I know, that makes some men so loth to see the destruction of this monster, purgatory, which is more than abominable. They seem heartily to love the old thing, that thus earnestly endeavour themselves to restore its old name. They would not set an hair by the name, but for the thing. They be not so ignorant, (no, they be crafty) but that they know if the name come again, the thing will come after: and then their money gathering may return again, and deceit walk about the country, and so establish their kingdom in all kingdoms.

Now to make haste and to come somewhat nigher the end: Go to, good brethren and fathers, for the love of God go ye to; and seeing we are here assembled, let us do

* He means the sweating the people out of their money.

something whereby we may be known to be the children of light. Let us do somewhat, lest we, which hitherto have been judged children of the world, seem even still to be so. All men call us prelates; then seeing we be in council, let us so order ourselves, that as we be prelates in honour and dignity, so we may be prelates in holiness, benevolence, diligence, and sincerity. All men know that we be here gathered, and with most fervent desire they expect the fruit of our convocation; as our acts shall be, so they shall name us; so that now it lieth on us, whether we be called children of the world, or children of light.

Wherefore lift up your heads, brethren, and look about, spy what things are to be reformed in the Church of England. Is it so hard, is it so great a matter for you, to see many abuses in the clergy, many in the laity? What is done in the Arches? * Nothing to be amended? What do they there? Do they always rid the people's business and matters, or linger and trifle with them? Do they still correct vice, or else defend it, sometime being well corrected in other places? How many sentences be given there in time, as they ought to be? If men say truth, how many without bribes? Or if all things be well done there, what do men in bishops' consistories? Shall you see the punishments assigned by the laws executed, or else money redemptions used in their stead? How think you of the ceremonies that are in England, oft-times, with no less offence of weak consciences, condemned; oftener with superstition so defiled, and so depraved, that you may doubt whether it were better for some of them to tarry still, or utterly to take them away? Have not your forefathers complained of the ceremonies, of the superstition, and estimation of them?

Do ye see nothing in our holidays? of the which very few were made at the first, and they to set forth good-

* The Court of Arches, which is a court belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was of old time held in Bow church, in Cheapside.

ness, virtue, and honesty? But since, in some places, there is neither mean nor measure in making new holidays, as if it was serving of God to make this law, that no man may work. But what doth the people on these holidays? Do they give themselves to godliness, or ungodliness? See ye nothing, brethren? If you see not, yet God seeth. God seeth all the holidays to be spent miserably in drunkenness, in strife, in envy, in dancing, dicing, idleness, and gluttony. He seeth all this, and threateneth punishment for it. He seeth it, which neither is deceived in seeing, nor deceiveth when he threateneth.

Thus men serve the devil, for God is not thus served, albeit ye say, ye serve God. No, the devil hath more service done unto him in one holiday, than on many working days. Let all these abuses be counted as nothing; who is he that is not sorry to see in so many holidays rich and wealthy persons to flow in delicacies, and men that live by their labour, poor men, to lack necessary meat and drink for their wives and their children, and that they cannot labour upon the holidays, except they will be cited and brought before their officials? Were it not the office of good prelates to consult upon these matters, and to seek some remedy for them? Ye shall see, my brethren, ye shall see what will come of this our winking.

What think ye of those images that are had more than their fellows in reputation? that are visited with such labour and weariness of the body, frequented with such cost, and trusted with such confidence? What say ye of those images, that are so famous, so noble, so noted, being of them so many and divers in England? Do you think, that this preferring of picture to picture, image to image, is the right use, and not rather the abuse of images? But ye will say to me, Why make ye all these interrogations? And why, in these your demands, do you hinder and withdraw the good devotion of the people? Be not all things well done, that are done with good intent, when they be profitable to us? So covetousness both thinketh and speaketh. Were it not better for us,
more

more for our credit, more meet for men in our places, to cut away a piece of this our profit, if we will not cut away all, than to wink at such an abuse, and so long to wink for a little lucre, especially if it be ungodliness? These be two things, so oft to seek mere images, and sometimes to visit the relicks of saints. And yet, as in those there may be much ungodliness committed, so there may here some superstition be hid, if that sometimes we chance to visit pigs bones, instead of saints relicks, as in time past it hath chanced, I had almost said, in England. Then this is a great blindness, a darkness too sensible, that these should be so commended in sermons of some men, and preached to be done after such manner, as though they could not be evil done; which, notwithstanding, are such, that neither God nor man commanded them to be done. No rather, men commanded them either not to be done at all, or else more slowly and seldomer to be done, forasmuch as our ancestors made this constitution. 'We command the priests that they oft admonish the people, and especially women, that they make no vows but after long deliberation, consent of their husbands, and counsel of the priest.' The Church of England in time past made this constitution. What saw they that made this decree? They saw the intolerable abuses of images: they saw the perils that might ensue of going on pilgrimage: they saw the superstitious difference that men made between image and image. Surely somewhat they saw. The constitution is so made, that in a manner it taketh away all such pilgrimages: for it so plucketh away the abuse of them, that it leaveth either none, or the seldom use of them. For they that restrain making vows for going of pilgrimage, restrain also pilgrimage. Seeing that for the most part few go on pilgrimage but vow-makers, and such as by promise bind themselves to go. And when, I pray you, should a man's wife go on pilgrimage, if she went not before she had well debated the matter with herself, and obtained the consent of her husband (being a wise man) and were also counselled by a learned priest so to

do? When should she go far off to these famous images? For this the common people of England think to be going on pilgrimage, to go to some dead and notable image far from home. Now if your forefathers made this constitution, and yet thereby did nothing, the abuses every day more and more increasing, what is left for you to do? Brethren and Fathers, if ye purpose to do any thing, what should ye sooner do, than to take utterly away these deceitful and juggling images? Or else, if ye know any other means to put away abuses, to shew it, if ye intend to remove abuses. I think it should be grateful and pleasant to you to mark the earnest mind of your forefathers, and to look upon their desire, where they say in their constitution, 'We *command* you,' and not 'we *counsel* you.' How have we been so long cold, so long slack in setting forth so wholesome a precept of the Church of England, where we be so hot in all things that have any gains in them, although they neither be commanded us, nor yet given us by counsel: as though we had rather the abuse of things should remain, than be taken away, to lose our profit? To let pass the solemn and nocturnal Bacchanals, the famous miracles that are done upon certain days in the west part of England, who hath not heard of? I think ye have heard of St. Bleffis's heart which is at Malverne,* and of St. Algar's bones, how long they deluded the people! I am afraid, to the loss of many souls. Whereby men may well conjecture, that all about in this realm, there is plenty of such juggling deceits; and yet hitherto ye have sought no remedy: but even still the miserable people are suffered to take the false miracles for the true, and to lie still asleep in all kind of superstition. God have mercy upon us!

Last of all, how think you of matrimony? Is all well here? What of baptism? Shall we evermore, in minis-

* The monastery of Malverne was situated about twelve miles from Worcester, in Latimer's own diocese, and undoubtedly he was an eye-witness of the pious frauds and impositions of the neighbouring Monks,

tering of it, speak Latin, and not in English rather, that the people may know what is said and done?

What think ye of these mass priests, and of the masses themselves? What say ye? Be all things here so without abuses, that nothing ought to be amended? Your forefathers saw somewhat, which made this constitution, against the venality, and sale of masses, that under pain of suspending, no priest should sell his sayings of tricennials, or annals.* What saw they that made this constitution? What priests saw they? What manner of masses saw they, think ye? But at the last, what became of so good a constitution? God have mercy upon us! If there be nothing to be amended abroad, concerning the whole, let every one of us make one better: if there be neither abroad nor at home any thing to be amended and redressed, my Lords, be ye of good cheer, be merry; and at the least, because we have nothing else to do, let us reason the matter how we may be richer. Let us fall to some pleasant communication; after let us go home, even as good as we came hither, that is, rightly begotten children of the world, and utterly worldlings. And while we live here let us all make good cheer; for after this life there is small pleasure, little mirth, for us to hope for: if now there be nothing to be changed in our fashions, let us say, not as St. Peter did; 'Our end approacheth nigh,'† this is an heavy hearing: but let us say as the evil servant said; 'It will be long ere my master come.' This is pleasant. 'Let us beat down our fellows: let us eat and drink with drunkards.'‡ Surely, as oft as we do not take away the abuse of things, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we give not the people their true food, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we let them die in superstition, so oft we beat them. To be short, as oft as we blind, lead them blind, so oft we beat, grievously beat, our fellows.

* *Tricennials* were masses said for the dead during thirty days, or one month, after their decease. *Annals* were anniversary days, yearly services said by the priest for a dead person, once every year.

† I. Peter iv. 7.

‡ Mat. xxiv: 48, 49.

When

When we welter in pleasure and idleness, then we eat and drink with drunkards. But God will come, God will come, he will not tarry long away. He will come upon such a day as we nothing look for him, and at such an hour as we know not: he will come and cut us in pieces. He will reward us as he doth the hypocrites. He will set us, where wailing shall be, my brethren; where gnashing of teeth shall be, my brethren. And let here be the end of our tragedy, if ye will. These be the delicate dishes prepared for the world's well-beloved children: these be the wafers and junkets provided for worldly prelates, wailing and gnashing of teeth. Can there be any mirth, where these two courses last all the feast? Here we laugh, there we shall weep: here we make merry, ever dashing in delicacies; there we shall do nothing but gnash and grind our teeth. To what end have we now excelled others in policy? What have we brought forth at the last? Ye see, brethren, what sorrow, what punishment is provided for you, if ye be worldlings. If ye will not thus be vexed, be ye not the children of the world: if ye will not be the children of the world, be not stricken with the love of worldly things, lean not upon them. If ye will not die eternally, live not carnally. Come, go to, leave the love of your profit; study for the glory and profit of Christ; seek in your consultations such things as belong to Christ, and bring forth at the last somewhat that may please Christ. Feed ye tenderly with all diligence the flock of Christ. Preach truly the word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of light while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come, bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom be all honour, praise, and glory. *Amen.*

S E R M O N IV.

THE GOSPEL PLOUGH.

*Preached at St. Paul's Church, in London, January 18,
1548.*

R O M A N S XV. 4.

*For whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written
for our learning.*

ALL things that are written in God's book, in the Bible book, in the book of holy scripture, are written to be our doctrine. I told you in my first * sermon, honourable audience, that I purposed to declare unto you two things: the one, what seed should be sown in God's field, in God's plough-land; and the other, who should be the sowers.

That is to say, what doctrine is to be taught in Christ's church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it: the first part I have told you in the three sermons past, in which I have assayed to set forth my plough, to prove what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the ploughers; for God's word is a seed to be sown in God's field, that is, the faithful congregation, and the preacher is the sower. As it is in the gospel; 'He that soweth,' the husbandman, the ploughman, 'went forth to sow his seed.'† So that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is

* Our Bishop appears to have delivered three sermons on the same subject, preceding this, which is the only one in print, and perhaps the only one of them that was taken down: but the defect may be supplied from Sermon XV. and XLIII. which are on the same subject.

† Matt. xiii. 3.

in another place; 'No man that putteth his hand to the 'plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of 'God.'* That is to say, let no preacher be negligent in doing his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath been racked, as I told you of racking scriptures: and I have been one of them myself that racked it, (pray God have mercy on me for it!) and have been one of them that expounded it against religious persons that would forsake their order which they have professed, and would go out of their cloister: whereas indeed it toucheth not monkery, nor maketh any thing at all for any such matter; but is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God.

For preaching of the gospel is one of God's plough-works, and the preacher is one of God's ploughmen. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labour and work of ploughing, and the preacher to a ploughman: ye may not be offended with this my similitude, for I have been slandered of some persons for such things. It hath been said of me, 'O 'Latimer, as for him, I will never believe him while I 'live, for he likened our blessed Lady to a saffron bag:' whereas indeed I never used that similitude. But it was, as I have said unto you before now, according to that which Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and said, that there should come after 'men by whom the way of truth 'should be evil spoken of.'† But in case I had used this similitude, it had not been to be reprov'd, but might have been without reproach. For I might have said thus: As the saffron bag that hath been full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth ever after favour and smell of the sweet saffron that it contained; so our blessed Lady, which conceived and bare Christ in her womb, did ever after resemble the manners and virtues of that precious babe that she bare. And what had our blessed Lady been the worse for this? Or what dishonour was this to our blessed Lady? But as preachers must beware

* Luke ix. 62.

† II. Peter ii. 2.

and be circumspect, that they give not any just occasion to be slandered and ill spoken of by the hearer, so must not the auditors be offended without cause. For heaven is in the gospel likened to a mustard seed: it is compared also to a piece of leaven; and as Christ saith, that at the last day he will come like a thief; now what dishonour is this to God? Or what derogation is this to heaven? Ye may not then, I say, be offended with my similitude; because I liken preaching to a ploughman's labour, and a prelate to a ploughman. But now ye will ask me whom I call a prelate? * A prelate is that man, whomsoever he be, that hath a flock to be taught of him; whosoever hath any spiritual charge in the faithful congregation; and whosoever he be that hath cure of souls. And well may the preacher and ploughman be likened together: first, for their labour in all seasons of the year; for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do. As in my country, in Leicestershire, the ploughman hath a time to set forth and to assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works, and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometimes ridgeth it up again; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometimes dungeth and hedgeth it, diggeth it and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean: so the prelate, the preacher, hath many diverse offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it; and not a vain faith, but a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merits; a lively faith, a justifying faith; a faith that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works: as ye have it very well declared and set forth in the homily. He hath

* A prelate is properly one of the dignified or superior clergy; we use it for none under the rank of a bishop, but our author takes it in a much more extensive sense.

then a busy work, I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith. Now casting them down with the law, and with threatnings of God for sin; then raising them up again with the gospel, and the promises of God's favour. Now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake them; then clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supple-hearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh; that is, soft hearts, and apt for good doctrine to enter in. Now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty both to God and their neighbours; then exhorting them when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it; so that they have a continual work to do. Great is their business, and therefore great should be their hire: they have great labours, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock; for the preaching of the word of God unto the people, is called meat: scripture calleth it meat; not strawberries, that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone: but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people must have meat that will be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year; but such do not the office of good prelates. For Christ saith, 'Who, think ye, is a wise and faithful servant? He that giveth meat in due time.*' So that he must at all times convenient preach diligently: therefore, saith he, 'Who, think ye, is a faithful servant?' He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one, and as though he should say, There be but a few of them to be found in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realm that give meat to their flock as they should do, the visitors can best tell: too few, too few, the more is the pity, and never so few as now.

By this it appeareth that a prelate, or any that hath cure of souls, must diligently and substantially labour.

* Matt. xxiv. 45.

Therefore

Therefore saith Paul to Timothy, 'He that desireth to have the office of a bishop,' or a prelate, 'that man desireth a good work.*' Then if it be a good work, it is a work; ye can make but a work of it. It is God's work, God's plough, and that plough God would have still going. Such then as loiter and live idly, are not good prelates, or ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, and do their duties, God saith by his prophet Jeremiah, 'Curfed be the man that doth the work of God fraudulently,† guilefully or deceitfully; some books have it negligently‡ or slackly. How many such prelates, how many such bishops (Lord, for thy mercy!) are there now in England? And what shall we in this case do; shall we company with them? O Lord, for thy mercy! Shall we not company with them? O Lord, whither shall we flee from them? But, 'curfed be he that doth the work of God negligently or guilefully.' A sore word for them that are negligent in discharging their office, or have done it fraudulently; for that is the thing that maketh the people ill.

But true it must be that Christ saith, 'Many are called, but few are chosen.'|| Here have I occasion by the way somewhat to say unto you; yea, for the place that I alledged unto you out of Jeremiah; and it was spoken of a special work of God, a work that was commanded to be done, and it was of shedding blood, and destroying the cities of Moab. For, addeth he, 'Curfed be he that keepeth back his sword from shedding of blood.' As Saul, when he kept back the sword from shedding of blood, (at what time he was sent against Amalek) was refused of God for being disobedient to God's commandment, in that he spared Agag the king. So that place of the prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reprov'd for idolatry, superstition, pride, avarice, cruelty,

* I. Tim. iii. 1.

† So the margin of our bibles.

‡ Jer. xlviii. 10.

|| Matt. xxii. 14.

tyranny, and for hardness of heart; and for these sins was plagued of God and destroyed.

Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of London; what shall I say of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London? No, no, I may not say so; they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, and as much superstition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore I say, Repent, O London; repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faults told thee; amend them, amend them. I think, if Nebo had had the preaching that thou hast, they would have repented.* And you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your charge, and see you do your duties; and rather be glad to amend your ill living, than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado was there made in London at a certain man, because he said, and indeed at that time on a just cause, 'Burgesse,' quoth he, 'nay, Butterflies!'—what ado there was for that word! and yet, would God they were no worse than butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature: the butterfly is not covetous, nor greedy of other men's goods; nor full of envy and hatred, nor malicious, nor cruel, nor merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God's word, it committeth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods; but London cannot abide to be rebuked; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick; if they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince; but yet they will not amend their faults, neither will they be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God, and favour good preachers; if you could bear to be told of your faults; if you could amend when you hear of them; if you would be glad to reform what is amiss; if I might

* See Matt. xii. 41.

see such an inclination in you, that you would leave off to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then speak well of you : but London was never so ill as it is now. In times past, men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity ; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold ; he shall lie sick at the door, and perish there for hunger. Was there ever more unmercifulness in Nebo ? I think not. In times passed, when any rich men died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the Universities and exhibitions, and relieve other poor people with money ; also when I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I often heard good report of London : but now I can hear no such good report, although I inquire for it, and hearken for it ; for now their charity is waxen cold, and none helpeth the poor. Also in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars ? Marry,* they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists, and professed the Pope's doctrine : and now that the knowledge of God's word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.

O London, London, repent, repent ; for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Repent therefore, repent, London, and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God, and none other ; and he will punish sin as well now as he did then ; and he will punish the iniquity of London, as well as he did that of Nebo : amend therefore. And ye that be prelates, look well to your office ; for your duty is constant labouring, and not lording : therefore preach and teach, and let your plough be doing. Ye Lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office ; the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation ; let your plough

* ' Marry,' a word of frequent use in the fifteenth century, but a mere expletive, adding nothing to the sense.

therefore be going, and cease not, that the ground may bring forth fruit.

But now methinketh I hear one say unto me, Know you what you say? Is it a work? Is it a labour? How then hath it happened, that we have had so many hundred years so many unpreaching prelates, lordly loiterers, and idle ministers? Ye would have me here to make answer, and to shew the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough; it is too stony, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to say for themselves, that it is not for my weak team to plough them. They have to say for themselves long customs, ceremonies, and authority, places in parliament, and many things more. And I fear me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed; for, as the saying is, it lacketh withering:* at least, it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look for among thorns, but pricking and scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What, I had almost said, among serpents, but stinging? But thus much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath gone down; contrary to the apostles times: for they preached and lorded not, and now they lord and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to plough: it is no meet office for them; it is not seemly for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers; thus crept in unpreaching prelates, and so have they long continued: for how many unlearned prelates have we now at this day? And no marvel; for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would soon give over ploughing; they would leave off their labour, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand; and then both ploughs standing still, nothing would be in the commonwealth but hunger: for ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, the plough standeth, there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they

* That is, to lye fallow, and be exposed to all the vicissitudes of the weather, to improve it.

dice, they pass time in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their gay companions, so that ploughing is set aside: and by their lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus if the ploughmen in the country were as negligent in their office as prelates be, we should not live long for want of sustenance. And as it is necessary to have this ploughing for the sustenance of the body, so must we have also the other for the satisfaction of the soul, or else we cannot live long spiritually: for as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lack of bodily meat, so doth the soul pine away for default of spiritual meat. But there be two kinds of inclosing, to let or hinder both these kinds of ploughing; the one is an inclosing to let or hinder the bodily plowing, and the other to let or hinder the church ploughing.

The bodily ploughing is taken in and inclosed through singular commodity.* For what man will let go, or diminish his private commodity for a commonwealth? And who will sustain any danger for the respect of a public benefit? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forward, nor no man will hearken to it. But to hinder it all mens' ears are open. Yea, and a great many ploughmen, which are very busy, and would seem to be very good workmen, I fear me, some be rather mock-gospellers, than diligent and faithful ploughmen. I know many myself that profess the gospel of Christ Jesus, and yet live not according thereto; I know, and have been conversant with some of them; I know them, and I speak it with a mournful heart, there is as little charity and good living in them as in any other; according to the which, Christ saith in the gospel to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had an earnest zeal to his doctrine, whereas, indeed, they had it not: 'Ye follow not me,' saith he, 'because ye have seen the signs and miracles that I have done; but be-

* He means that the rich inclosed the lands for their own private advantage without consulting the public good.

'cause ye have eaten the bread, and refreshed your bodies, therefore you follow me.' * So likewise I think, that many now-a-days profess the gospel for the living sake, and not for the love they bear to God's word. But they that will be true ploughmen, must work faithfully for God's sake, for the edifying of their brethren. And as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustenance of the body, so diligently must the prelates and ministers labour for the feeding of the soul; both the ploughs must still be going, as most necessary for man. And wherefore are magistrates ordained, but that the tranquillity of the commonwealth may be confirmed, by employing both ploughs?

But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methinks I could guess what might be said for excusing them: they are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their tents, dancing in their dominos, burdened with embassies, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers, and rioting in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the King's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the parliament, some are presidents, and some comptrollers of mints.

Well, well, is this their duty? Is this their office? Is this their calling? Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mints? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? Is this his charge? I would here ask one question; would fain know who comptrolleth the devil at home in his parish, while he comptrolleth the mint? If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the deacons, shall one leave it for minting? I cannot vouch it; but the saying is, that since priests have been minters, money hath been

* John vi. 26.

worse than it was before. And they say likewise, that the badness of the money hath made all things dearer. And in this behalf I must speak here to my country, England, as Saint Paul did in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter; for Paul was no fitting bishop, but a walking and a preaching bishop. Yet when he went from them, he left there behind him the plough going still; for he wrote unto them, and rebuked them for going to law, and pleading their causes before the heathen judges: 'Is there,' saith he, 'utterly among you no wise man to be an arbitrator in matters of judgement? What, not one of all that can judge between brother and brother; but one brother goeth to law with another, and under heathen judges! Choose them judges which are most abject and vile in the congregation.' Which he speaketh in rebuking them; for, saith he, 'I speak it to your shame.' So, England, I speak it to thy shame: Is there never a nobleman to be a lord president,* but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint? I speak it to your shame. If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobbler, a slave, or a page, comptroller of the mint: make a mean gentleman, a groom, a yeoman, or a poor beggar, lord president.

* Those the good Bishop here so zealously inveighs against, for being unpreaching prelates, and holding places inconsistent with their holy vocation, and to the utter destruction of the flock committed to their care, by never appearing in their dioceses, but when commanded by law, or to receive their money, at stated times, which they took care never to neglect; but scarce one of them would deign to preach to the people, though never more wanted than at that time; these wolves in sheep's clothing were, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Heath and Pate, of Worcester; Tunstall, of Durham; Bonner, of London; and Day, of Chichester. Of these, Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath, were not only the most furious persecutors, on account of religion, any age had known, but as remarkable for their neglect of the episcopal office. Heath never preached in the diocese of Worcester during the time he held that see, which was upwards of seven years; and all the others were in secular employments.

Thus I speak, not that I would have it so, but to your shame, if there be never a gentleman meet nor able to be lord president. For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in the knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonwealth? The King hath a great many wards, and I think there is a Court of Wards; why is there not a school of wards, as well as there is a court for their lands? Why are they not sent to schools where they may learn? Or why are they not sent to the Universities, that they may be able to do the King service when they come to age? If the wards and young gentlemen were well brought up in learning, and in the knowledge of God, they would not when they come to age so much delight in vanities: and if the nobility were well trained in godly learning, the people would follow the same example; for truly, such as the noblemen be, such will the people be. And now, the only cause why noblemen be not made lord presidents, is because they have not been brought up in learning.

Therefore for the love of God appoint teachers and schoolmasters, you that have charge of youth; and give the teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in grammar, in logic, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the civil law, and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the word of God. Thanks be unto God, the nobility otherwise is very well brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England; so that there is now good hope in the youth that we shall another day have a flourishing commonwealth, considering their godly education. Yea, and there be already noblemen enough, though not so many as I could wish, able to be lord presidents, and wise men enough for the mint: and as unmeet a thing it is for bishops to be lord presidents, or priests to be minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variance before heathen judges. It is also a slander to the noblemen, as though they wanted wisdom and learning to be able for such offices, or else were men of no conscience.

or not meet to be trusted in such places. Besides, a prelate hath a charge and cure otherwise ; and therefore he cannot discharge his duty, and be a lord president too : for a presidentship requireth a whole man, and a bishop cannot be two men. A bishop hath his office, namely, a flock to teach and look unto ; and therefore he cannot meddle with another office, which alone requireth a whole man : he should therefore give it over to whom it is meet, and labour in his own business, as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians ; ‘ Let every man do his own business.’* Let the priest preach, and let noblemen handle temporal matters. Moses was a marvellous man, and a good man ; Moses was a wonderful man, and did his duty, being a married man : we lack such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would look to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should have a flourishing Christian commonwealth.

And now I would ask a strange question : Who is the most diligent bishop and prelate in all England, and passeth all the rest in doing his office ? I can tell, for I know who he is ; I know him well : but now methinks I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is ? I will tell you : it is the Devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other ; he is never out of his diocese ; he is never from his cure ; ye shall never find him unoccupied ; he is ever in his parish ; he keepeth residence at all times ; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when ye will ; he is ever at home ; the most diligent preacher in all the realm ; he is ever at his plough ; no lording or loitering may hinder him ; he is ever applying to his business ; ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you : and his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kinds of popery. He is as ready as can be wished for to set forth his plough ; to devise as

* I. Theff. iv. 2.

many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books, and up with candles; away with Bibles, and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon day. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry, censuring, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing; as though man could invent a better way to honour God with, than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with popish purgatory. Away with cloathing the naked, supporting the poor and impotent; up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stocks and stones; down with God's will and most holy word, up with man's tradition and his laws; down with the old honour due unto God, and up with the honour of the new gods. Let all things be done in Latin: there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as 'Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt thou return.' Which be the words that the minister speaketh unto the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash-Wednesday; but they must be spoken in Latin, and in no wise must they be translated into English.

O that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine, as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel!* And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin, and hindereth the fruitful edification. But here some man will say to me, What, Sir, are ye so privy to the devil's counsel that ye know all this to be true?—Truly I know him too well, and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies; and I know him as other men do, that he is ever occupied, and ever busied in following the plough. I know him by St. Peter's words, who saith of him, 'He goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.'† I would have this text well viewed

* Weeds that grow among the corn.

† I. Pet. v. 8.

and examined, every word of it: 'he goeth about' every corner of his diocese; he goeth on visitation daily, and leaveth no place of his cure unvisited; he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not. 'As a lion,' that is, strongly, boldly, fiercely, and proudly; with haughty looks, with a proud countenance, and stately braggings. 'Roaring;' for he letteth not slip any occasion to speak or to roar out when he seeth his time. He goeth about seeking, and not sleeping, as our bishops do; but he seeketh diligently, he searcheth diligently all corners, where he may have his prey. He rovet abroad in every place of his diocese; he standeth not still, he is never at rest, but ever in hand with his plough, that it may go forward. But there never was such a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching, which every day, and every hour, laboureth to sow cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of form, and out of estimation and request, the institution of the Lord's Supper and Christ's cross? For there he lost his right; for Christ said, 'Now is the judgement of this world, and the Prince of this world shall be cast out.' 'And as Moses did lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up. And when I shall be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all things unto myself.'*—For the devil was disappointed of his purpose; for he thought all to be his own, when he had once brought Christ to the cross.

But there lost he all his reigning; for Christ said, 'I will draw all things to myself.' He meaneth, the drawing of man's soul to salvation: and that he said he would do by his own self; not by any other sacrifice. He meant by his own sacrifice upon the cross, where he offered himself for the redemption of mankind; and not the sacrifice of the mass to be offered by another: for who can offer him, but himself? He was both the offerer and the offering. And this is the point, this is the mark at which the devil shooteth, to make void the cross of

* John xii. 31, 32.

Christ, and to mangle the institution of the Lord's Supper; the which, although he cannot bring to pass, yet he goeth about by his flights and subtil means to frustrate the same: and above these fifteen hundred years he hath been constantly endeavouring to evacuate Christ's death, and to make it of small efficacy and virtue; for as Christ saith, 'according as the serpent was lifted up 'in the wilderness,' so would he himself be exalted; that thereby as many as trusted in him should have salvation. The devil would have none of that. He would have us saved by a *daily* propitiatory oblation; by a sacrifice expiatory, or remissory of the priest's offering.

Now if I should preach in the country, among the unlearned, I would tell what propitiatory, expiatory, and remissory is: but here is a learned auditory; yet for them that be unlearned I will expound it. Propitiatory, expiatory, remissory, or satisfactory, signify all one thing in effect, and is nothing else but a thing whereby to obtain remission of sins, and to have salvation. And this way the devil useth to make void the death of Christ, that we might have affiance in other things, as the sacrifice of the priest; whereas Christ would have us to trust only in his sacrifice. So he was, 'the Lamb that hath been 'slain from the beginning of the world;'* and therefore he is called, 'a continual sacrifice;'+ and not for the continuance of the mass, as I myself once took it to be: but the scripture saith, 'by himself,'† and by none other, Christ made purgation and satisfaction 'for the whole 'world.'§

Would God this word, *by himself*, had been better weighed; for it is only his satisfaction which can make them holy: but he is a *continual* sacrifice, in effect, fruit, and operation; that like as they, which seeing the serpent hang up in the desert, were put in remembrance of

* Rev. xiii. 8.

† This was probably the old translation of some text in the Hebrews, but we can find nothing like it in any translations we have met with.

‡ Heb. i. 3.

§ I. John ii. 2.

Christ's death, in whom as many as believed were saved; so all men that trust in the death of Christ shall be saved, as well they that were before, as they that came after; for he was a continual sacrifice, as I said, in effect, fruit, operation, and virtue; as though he had from the beginning of the world, and continually should to the world's end, hang still upon the cross. And he is as fresh hanging on the cross now, to them that believe and trust in him, as he was above fifteen hundred years ago, when he was crucified.

Then let us trust upon his death only, and look for no other sacrifice propitiatory, than the same bloody sacrifice, the lively sacrifice; and not the dry sacrifice, but a bloody sacrifice. For Christ himself said, 'It is finished :* I have taken at my Father's hand the dispensation of redeeming mankind, and I have wrought man's redemption.' Why then mangle ye him? Why do ye divide? Why make you of him more sacrifices than one? Paul saith, 'Christ our passover is offered;' † so that the thing is done, and Christ hath done it, and he hath done it once for all: and it was a bloody sacrifice, not a dry sacrifice.

Why then, it is not the mass that availeth or profiteth for the quick and the dead. Wo worth thee, O devil, wo worth thee, that hast prevailed so far and so long; that hast made England to worship false gods, forsaking Christ our Lord. Wo worth thee, O devil, wo worth thee, and all thy angels. If Christ by his death draweth all things to himself, and draweth all men to salvation, and to heavenly bliss, that trust in him; then the priests at the mass, at the popish mass, I say, what can they draw, when Christ draweth all, but lands and goods from the right heirs? The priests draw goods and riches, benefices and promotions to themselves; and such as believe in their sacrifices they draw to the devil: but Christ is he that draweth souls unto him by his bloody sacrifice.

* John xix. 30.

† I. Cor. v. 7.

What other service have we then to do to him, and what other sacrifice have we to offer, but the mortification of our flesh? What other oblation have we to make, but of obedience, of good living, of good works, and of helping our neighbours? But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better: Christ hath done it so well, that it cannot be amended. But the devil, by the help of that Italian bishop, his proud chaplain, † hath laboured by all means that he could, to frustrate the death of Christ, and the merits of his passion. And they have devised for that purpose to make us believe in other vain things by his pardons; as to have remission of sins for praying on hallowed beads; for drinking of the bakehouse bowl; as a canon of Waltham Abbey once told me, that whensoever they put their loaves of bread into the oven, as many as drank of the pardon bowl should have pardon for drinking of it. A mad thing, to give pardon to a bowl. Then to Pope Alexander's holy water, to hallowed bells, palms, candles, ashes, and what not? And of these things, every one hath taken away some part of Christ's satisfaction; every one hath robbed some part of Christ's passion and cross, and hath mangled Christ's death, and hath been made to be propitiatory and satisfactory, and to put away sin. Yea, and Alexander's holy water yet at this day remaineth in England; and is used for a remedy to chase away spirits and devils; yea, and I would this had been the worst. But wo worth thee, O devil, that hast prevailed to make vain Christ's cross, and to mangle the Lord's Supper. These be the right Italian bishop's devices, and the devil hath pointed at this mark to frustrate the cross of Christ: He shot at this mark long before Christ came, he aimed at this several thousand years before Christ hanged on the cross, or suffered his passion.

For the brazen serpent was set up in the wilderness, to put men in remembrance of Christ's coming; that like as they which beheld the brazen serpent were healed

† Namely, the Pope.

of

of their bodily diseases, so they that look spiritually upon Christ that was to come, by him should be saved spiritually from the devil. The serpent was set up in memory of Christ to come, but the devil found means to steal away the memory of Christ's coming, and brought the people to honour the serpent itself, yea, to serve him, to worship him, and to make an idol of him: and this was done by the market-men that I told you of; and the clerk of the market did it for the lucre and advantage of his master, that thereby his honour might increase; for by Christ's death he could have but small worldly advantage. And so even now hath he divers blanchers * belonging to the market, to hinder and stop the light of the gospel, and to hinder the King's proceedings in setting forth the word and glory of God. And when the King's Majesty, with the advice of his honourable Council, goeth about to promote God's word, and to set an order in matters of religion, there shall not want them that will say; As for images, whereas they have used to be censured, and to have candles offered unto them, none be so foolish to do it to the stock or stone, or to the image itself; but it is done to God and his honour before the image. And though they should abuse it, these men would be ready to whisper the King in the ear, and to tell him, that this abuse is but a small matter; and that the same, with all other like abuses in the church, may be reformed easily. It is but a small abuse, say they, and it may be easily amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first, for fear of trouble or further inconveniences,

The people will not bear sudden alterations; an insurrection may be made after sudden mutation, which may be to the great harm and loss of the realm: therefore all things shall be well, but not out of hand, for fear of further business. These be those that hitherto have stop-

* Our preacher evidently means those who endeavoured to excuse and justify the abuses and superstitions crept into religion at that time. These he calls *blanchers*, religious white-washers.

ped the word of God, and hindered the true setting forth of the same. There be many put-offs, so many put-bys, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom. And I doubt not but there were many blanchers in the old time, to whisper in the ear of good King Hezekiah, for the maintenance of idolatry done to the brazen serpent, as well as there hath been now of late, and be now, that can blanch the abuse of images, as other like things.

But good King Hezekiah would not be so blinded; he was like to Apollos, fervent in spirit. He would give no ear to the blanchers; he was not moved with these worldly respects, with these prudent considerations, with these policies: he feared not insurrections of the people: he feared not lest his people would not bear the glory of God, but he (without any of these considerations, like a good King, for God's sake and for conscience sake) by and by plucked down the brazen serpent, and destroyed it utterly, and beat it to powder. He out of hand did cast out all images, he destroyed all idolatry, and clearly did extirpate all superstition. He would not hear these worldly wise men, but without delay followed God's cause, and destroyed all idolatry out of hand. Thus did good King Hezekiah; for he was like Apollos, fervent in spirit, and diligent to promote God's glory.

And good hope there is that it shall be likewise here in England; for the King's Majesty is so brought up in knowledge, virtue, and godliness, that it is not to be doubted but that we shall have all things well, and that the glory of God shall be spread abroad throughout all parts of the realm, if the prelates will diligently ply their plough, and be preachers rather than lords. But our blanchers, which will be lords, and no labourers, when they are commanded to go and be resident upon their cures, and preach in their benefices, they will say, Why? I have set a deputy there; I have a deputy that looketh well to my flock, and he shall discharge my duty. My duty, quoth you, I looked for that word all this while. And what a deputy must he be; think ye? Even one

one like himself; he must be a canonist: that is to say, one that is brought up in the study of the Pope's laws and decrees; one that will set forth papistry as well as himself; one that will maintain all superstition and idolatry; and one that will nothing at all, or else very weakly, resist the devil's plough. Yea, happy is it if he take no part with the devil; and where he should be an enemy unto him, it is well if he take not the devil's part against Christ.

But in the mean time, the prelates take their pleasures: they are lords, and no labourers; but the devil is always very diligent at his plough. He is no unpreaching prelate: he is no lordly loiterer from his cure; but a busy ploughman. So that among all the prelates, and among all them that have cure, the devil shall be for my money, for he still plieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil: and if ye will not learn of God, nor good men; for shame learn of the devil. 'I speak it to your shame.' If you will not learn of God, nor good men, to be diligent in your office, learn of the devil. Howbeit there is now very good hope that the King's Majesty, being by the help and good government of his most honourable counsellors, trained and brought up in learning, and knowledge of God's word, will shortly provide a remedy, and set an order herein; which thing that it may so be, let us all pray for him. Pray for him, good people; pray for him. Ye have great cause and need to pray for him. *Amen.*

S E R M O N V.

THE DUTY OF KINGS.

Being the first of the seven preached before King Edward VI. within the Preaching-place in the Palace at Westminster, March 8, 1549.

ROMANS XV. 4.

For whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.

IN taking this part of scripture, most noble audience, I play as a truant, which when he is at school will chuse a lesson wherein he is perfect, because he is loth to take pains in studying a new lesson, or else feareth stripes for his slothfulness. In like manner I might seem now in my old age to some men, to take this part of scripture, because I would wade easily and lightly away therewith, and drive my matter at my pleasure, and not to be bound unto a certain theme. But ye shall consider, that the aforefaid words of Paul are not to be understood of all writings, but only of those which are written in God's book; and all things which are therein, 'are written for our learning.' The excellency of this word is so great, and of so high dignity, that there is no earthly thing to be compared unto it. The author thereof is great, that is, God himself, eternal, almighty, everlasting. The scripture, because of him, is also great, eternal, most mighty, and holy. There is no king, emperor, magistrate, nor ruler, of what estate soever he be, but is bound

to obey this God, and to give credence unto his holy word, in directing his steps according unto the same word: yea, truly, they are not only bound to obey God's book, but also the minister of the same, 'for the word's sake,' so far as he speaketh 'sitting in Moses's chair;'* that is, if his doctrine be taken out of Moses's law: for in this world God hath two swords, the one is a temporal sword, the other a spiritual sword; the temporal sword resteth in the hands of kings, magistrates, and rulers under him, whereunto all subjects, as well the clergy as the laity, be subject, and punishable for any offence contrary to the same book;† the spiritual sword is in the hands of the ministers and preachers, whereunto all kings, magistrates, and rulers ought to be obedient; that is, to hear and follow, so long as the ministers sit in Christ's chair, that is, speak out of Christ's book. The King correcteth transgressors with the temporal sword, yea, and the preacher also, if he be an offender: but the preacher cannot correct the King, if he be a transgressor of God's word, with the temporal sword; but he must correct and reprove him with the spiritual sword, fearing no man, setting God only before his eyes, under whom he is minister, to supplant and root up all vice and mischief by God's word; whereunto all men ought to be obedient, as is mentioned in many places of scripture, and amongst many this is one, 'Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.' Therefore let the preacher teach, improve, attend, and instruct in righteousness with the spiritual sword, fearing no man, though death should ensue. Thus Moses, fearing no man, with this sword did reprove King Pharaoh at God's commandment.

Micaiah the prophet also did not spare to blame King Ahab for his wickedness, according to God's will, and to prophesy of his destruction, contrary to many false prophets. These aforesaid Kings being admonished by the ministers of God's word, because they would not follow their godly doctrine, and correct their lives, came to utter

* Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.

† See Rom. xiii. 1 — 5.

destruction.

destruction. Pharaoh giving no credit to Moses, the prophet of God, but giving way unto the lusts of his own heart, when he heard of the passage of God's people, having no fear or remembrance of God's work, he with his army did pursue after, intending to destroy them; but he and his people were drowned in the Red sea. King Ahab also, because he would not hearken to Micaiah, was killed with an arrow. Likewise also the house of Jeroboam, with many others, came unto destruction, because they would not hear the ministers of God's word, and correct their lives according to his will and pleasure. Let the preachers therefore never fear to declare the message of God unto all men. And if the King will not hear them, the preachers may admonish and charge them with their duties, and so leave them unto God, and pray for them. But if the preachers digress out of Christ's chair, and shall speak their own fancies, then, instead of 'Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do,' change it into these words following: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits.*' Yea, change 'Whatsoever they bid you to do,' if their doctrine be evil, into 'Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the Sadducees.†'

In teaching evil doctrine all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wise to be hearkened unto. In speaking truth, they are to be heard. All things written in God's book are most certain, true, and profitable for all men: for in it is contained meet matter for kings, princes, rulers, bishops, and for all estates. Wherefore it becometh every preacher somewhat to acquaint and accommodate himself and his matter, agreeable unto the comfort and amendment of the audience unto which he declareth the message of God. If he preach before a King, let his matter be concerning the office of a King; if before a bishop, then let him treat of episcopal duties and

* Matt. vii. 15.

† Matt. xvi. 6.

orders, and so forth in other matters, as the time and audience shall require.

I have thought it good to entreat upon a part of the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy. As in divers other places of scripture is meet matter for all estates, so in this place is described chiefly the doctrine fit for a King. But who is worthy to utter this doctrine before our noble King? Not I, God knows, which am through age both weak in body and memory; unapt I am, not only because of painful study, but also for this short warning. Well, unto God I will make my complaint, who never failed me. God is my helper in all my necessities; to him alone will I make my petition. To pray unto saints departed I am not taught. To desire like grace of God as they had, right godly it is; or to believe God to be no less merciful unto us, being faithful, than he was unto them, it is greatly comfortable. Therefore only unto God let us lift up our heart, and say the Lord's Prayer, *Our Father, &c.*

DEUTERONOMY XVII. 14—17.

When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and enjoyest it, and dwellest therein; if thou shalt say, I will set a King over me, like unto all the nations that are about me: then thou shalt make him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall chuse. One of thy brethren must thou make King over thee; and mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not of thy brethren. But in any wise let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses, that he bring not the people again unto Egypt, through the multitude of horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, ye shall henceforth go no more again that way. Neither shall he take unto him many wives, lest his heart turn away: neither shall he gather him much silver and gold.

AS the text doth rise, I will touch and go a little in every place, but not too much. The text is, "When
 ' thou

‘ thou shalt come into the land which the Lord thy God
 ‘ giveth thee,’ &c. To have a King, the Israelites did
 with much importunity call unto God, and God long
 before promised them a King; and they were fully certi-
 fied thereof, that God had promised that thing. For unto
 Abraham he said, ‘ I will multiply thee exceedingly, and
 ‘ will make nations of thee; yea, and Kings shall spring
 ‘ out of thee.’* These words were spoken long before
 the children of Israel had any King. Notwithstanding
 here yet God prescribed to them an order, how they
 should chuse their King, and what manner of man he
 should be, where he saith, ‘ When thou shalt come into
 ‘ the land,’ &c. As who should say, O ye children of
 Israel, I know your nature right well, which is evil, and
 inclined unto all evils. I know that thou shalt chuse a
 King to reign over thee, and to appear glorious in the
 face of the world, after the manner of other nations.
 But because thou art stiff-necked, wild, and art given to
 walk without a bridle or line, therefore I will prevent thy
 evil manners, I will hedge strongly thy way, I will make
 a durable law, which shall compel thee to walk in a plain
 way: that is, thou shalt not chuse thee a King after thy
 will and fancy, but after me, thy Lord and God.

Thus God covenanted with the Jews, that their King
 should be such a one as he himself would chuse them,
 lest they should walk disorderly in a deceitful way unto
 their own utter loss and destruction. For, as they say
 commonly, ‘ he that walketh plainly, walketh safely.’
 As the Jews were stiff-necked, and were ever ready to
 walk inordinately, no less are we Englishmen given to
 untowardness, and disorderly walking after our own fan-
 cies and brains. We will walk without the limits of
 God’s word; we will chuse a King at our own pleasure.
 But let us learn to frame our lives after the noble King
 David, who when he had many occasions given of King
 Saul to work evil for evil; yea, and having many times
 opportunity to perform mischief, and to slay King Saul;

* Gen. xvii. 6.

nevertheless yet fearing God, would not follow his fleshly affections, and walk disorderly without the will of God's word, which he confessed always to be his direction; saying, 'Thy word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.'* Thus having in mind to walk uprightly, he did always avoid to do evil. For when King Saul was in a cave without any man, David and his men sitting at the sides of the cave, yea, and David's men moved him to kill Saul, David made answer and said unto them, 'The Lord keep me from doing this thing unto my master, that is the Lord's anointed.'† At another time also, moved by Abishai to kill Saul sleeping, David said, 'Destroy him not; for who can lay his hands on the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?'‡ I would God we would follow King David, and then we should walk uprightly, and yet do but that we are bound of duty to do; for God saith, 'That thing which I command, that only do.'§ There is a great error risen now-a-days among many of us, which are vain and new-fangled men, climbing beyond the limits of our capacity and wit, in wresting this text of scripture hereafter following after their own fancy and brain: their error is upon this text; 'Hear the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not cast thee away, but me.'|| They wrest these words after their own fancies, and make much doubt as touching the King and his godly name. They that so do, walk not directly and plainly, but delight in rough and stubble ways.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walk with God, and direct their steps by his word. For both Patriarchs, Judges, and Kings, had and have their authority of God. But this ought to be considered which God saith, 'Thou must not set a stranger over thee.' It hath pleased God to

* Ps. cxix. 105.

† I. Sam. xxvi. 9.

|| I. Sam. viii. 7.

‡ I. Sam. xxiv. 6.

§ Numb. xxii. 35.

grant us a natural liege King and Lord of our own nation, an Englishman, one of our own religion. God hath given him to us, and he is a most precious treasure; and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be King over us.

Let us follow Daniel; let us not seek the death of our most noble and rightful King, our own brother both by nativity and religion. Let us pray for his good estate, that he live long among us.

O what a plague were it, that a strange King, of a strange land, and of a strange religion, should reign over us! Where now we be governed in the true religion, he would extirpate it altogether; and then plant again all abomination and popery. God keep such a King from us. Well, the King's Grace hath sisters, my Lady Mary and my Lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who, if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue? God knoweth. But God grant if they so do, (whereby strange religion cometh in) that they may never come to succeed. Therefore to avoid this plague, let us amend our lives, and put away all pride, which doth drown men in this realm at these days; all covetousness, wherein the magistrates and rich men of this realm are overwhelmed; all lewdness and other excessive vices, provoking God's wrath, were he not merciful, even to take from us our natural King and liege Lord; yea, to plague us with a strange King, for our unrepentant hearts. Wherefore, if, as ye say, ye love the King, amend your lives, and then ye shall be a means that God shall grant him long to reign over us. For undoubtedly sins much provoke God's wrath. Scripture saith, 'I will give thee a King in my wrath.' Now we have a lawful King, a godly King; nevertheless, yet many evils do reign. Long time the ministers appointed have studied to amend and redress all evils; long time before this, great labour hath been about this matter; great boasts have been made that all should be well: but when all came to all, for all their boasts, little or nothing was done. In whom these

words of Horace may well be verified, saying, *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*; The mountain swelleth up; the poor mouse is brought forth. Long before this time, many have taken in hand to bring things to pass, but finally their works came unto small effect and profit.

Now I hear say all things are ended after a godly manner, or else shortly shall be. Make haste, make haste, and let us learn to repent, and to amend our lives. If we do not, I fear, I fear lest for our sins and unthankfulness, an hypocrite shall reign over us. Long we have been servants and in bondage, serving the Pope in Egypt: God hath given us a deliverer, a natural King. Let us seek no stranger of another nation, no hypocrite which shall bring us again all papistry; hypocrisy, and idolatry: no diabolical minister, which shall maintain all devilish works and evil exercises: but let us pray God to maintain and continue our most excellent King here present, true inheritor of this our realm, both by nativity and also by the special gift and ordinance of God. He doth rectify us in the liberty of the gospel, in that therefore let us stand; 'Stand in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.'* In Christ's liberty we shall stand, if we so live that we profit; if we cast away all evil, fraud, and deceit, with such other vices, contrary to God's word; and in so doing, we shall not only prolong and maintain our most noble King's days in prosperity, but also we shall prosper our own lives.

'In any wise, let not such a one prepare unto himself many horses,' &c. In speaking these words, ye shall understand, that I do not intend to speak against the strength, policy, and provision of a King; but against excess, and vain trust that Kings have in themselves more than the living God, the author of all goodness, and giver of all victory.—Many horses are requisite for a King; but he may not exceed in them, nor triumph in them, more than is needful for the necessary affairs and defence of the realm. What meaneth it, that God hath

* Gal. v. 1.

to do with the King's stable, but only that he would be master of his horses? The scripture saith, 'He dwelleth on high.' It followeth, 'He looketh on the low things;'^{*} yea, upon the King's stables, and upon all the offices in his house, and will take account of every one bearing rule therein, for the executing of their offices; whether they have justly and truly served the King, or no. Yea, God looketh upon the King himself, if he work well or not. Every King is subject unto God, and all other men are subject unto the King. In a King, God requireth faith, not excess of horses. Horses for a King be good and necessary, if they be well used; but horses are not to be preferred above poor men. I was once offended with the King's horses, and therefore took occasion to speak in the presence of the King's Majesty that is dead. When abbies stood, abbies were ordained for the comfort of the poor; wherefore I said, it was not decent that the King's horses should be kept in them, as many were at that time, and the living of poor men thereby diminished or taken away. But afterward a certain nobleman said to me, What hast thou to do with the King's horses? I answered and said, I spake my conscience, as God's word directed me. He said, Horses be the maintenance and part of a King's honour, and also of his realm; wherefore in speaking against them, ye are against his honour. I answered, God teacheth what honour is decent for a King, and for all other men according to their vocations. God appointeth every King a sufficient living for his estate and degree, both by lands and other customs; and it is lawful for every King to enjoy the same goods and possessions: but to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the King. If you do move the King to do after that manner, then you speak against the honour of the King. For I fully certify you extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the King's liege people for lack of sustenance are

* Ps. cxlii. 5, 6.

famished and perish : they be those which speak against the honour of the King. God requireth in the King and all magistrates a good heart, to walk directly in his ways, and in all subjection, in obedience due unto a King. Therefore I pray God, both the King, and also we his people, may endeavour diligently to walk in his ways, to his great honour and our profit.

‘ Neither shall he take unto him many wives,’ &c. Although we read here that the Kings among the Jews had liberty to take more wives than one, we may not therefore attempt to think that we may also take many wives. For Christ hath forbidden this unto Christians. And let us not impute sin unto the Jews because they had many wives ; for they had a dispensation so to have. Christ limiteth unto us one wife only ; and it is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly ; for a woman is a very weak vessel, and may soon deceive a man, and bring him into evil. Many examples we have in holy scripture : Adam had but one wife, called Eve, and how soon she brought him to consent unto evil, and to come to destruction ! How did wicked Jezebel pervert King Ahab’s heart from God and all godliness, and finally unto destruction ? It is a very hard thing for a man to rule well one woman. Therefore let our King, what time his Grace shall be so minded to take a wife, chuse him one which is of God, that is, which is of the household of faith. Yea, let all estates be no less circumspect in choosing her, taking great deliberation, and then they shall not need divorcements, and such mischiefs, to the evil example and slander of our realm. And that she be such an one as the King can find in his heart to love, and to lead his life in pure and chaste matrimony ; and then he shall be the more ready to advance God’s glory, and to punish and to extirpate the great lewdness practised in this realm.

Therefore we ought to make a continual prayer unto God, for to grant our King’s Grace such a spouse as may knit his heart and hers, according to God’s ordinance and law ; and not to consider and cleave only to a political

cal conjunction, for the enlarging of dominions, for surety and defence of countries, setting aside the institution and ordinance of God. We have now a pretty little shilling indeed, a very pretty one: I have but one, I think, in my purse; and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat; and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see; but therein is printed a fine sentence, that is,

TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ VEL SAPIENTIÆ;

‘The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life, or wisdom.’* I would God this sentence were always printed in the heart of the King in chusing his wife, and in all his officers. For like as the fear of God is the fountain of wisdom, or of life; so the forgetting of God is the fountain of foolishness, or of death, although it be never so politic; for upon such politic matters death doth ensue and follow.

All their divorcements, and other like conditions, are to the great displeasure of Almighty God; which evils, I fear me, are much used in these days, in the marriage of noblemens’ children, for joining lands to lands, possessions to possessions; neither the virtuous education nor living being regarded: but in the infancy such marriages be made, to the displeasure of God, and breach of espousals.

‘Neither shall he gather him too much silver and gold.’ Is there too much, think you, for a King? God doth allow much unto a King, as it is expedient that he should have much; for he hath great expences, and many occasions to spend much for the defence and surety of his realms and subjects. And necessary it is that the King have a treasure always in readiness, for that and such other affairs as be daily in his hands. The which treasure, if it be not sufficient, he may lawfully, and with a safe conscience, take taxes of his subjects. For it were not meet the treasure should be in the subjects purses, when the money should be occupied, nor is it best for themselves; for the lack thereof might cause both

* Prov. xiv. 27.

it, and all the rest that they have, should not be long theirs; and so, for a necessary and expedient occasion, it is warranted by God's word to take of the subjects. But if there be sufficient treasures, and burdening of subjects be for a vain thing, so that he will require thus much or so much of his subjects, which perchance are in great necessity and penury; then this covetous intent, and the request thereof, is too much, which God forbiddeth the King here in this place of scripture to have. But who shall see this too much; think you any of the King's privy chamber? No: for fear of loss of favour. Shall any of his sworn chaplains? No: they be of the closet, and keep close such matters. But the King himself must see this too much; and that shall he do by no means with his corporal eyes. Wherefore he must have a pair of spectacles, which shall have two clear sights in them; whereof the one is faith, not a temporal faith, which shall last but awhile, but a faith which is continuing in God. The second clear sight is charity, which is fervent towards his christian brother. By them two must the King ever see when he hath too much. But few there be that use these spectacles, the more is their damnation.

Not without cause, Chrysostom with admiration saith, 'I marvel if any ruler can be saved!' Which words he speaketh not of an impossibility, but of a great difficulty; for that their charge is marvellously great, and that none about them dare shew them the truth of the thing, how it goeth.

Well then, if God will not allow a King too much, whether will he allow a subject too much? No, that he will not. Whether have any men here in England too much? I doubt most rich men have too much; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the physician; if the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without too much. And of the lawyer, the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him too much. At merchant's hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it
too

too much. You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say, you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For what here before went for twenty or forty pounds a year, which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour, now is let for fifty or an hundred pounds by the year. Of this too much cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary to our deserts. Notwithstanding which these wicked rich men have caused such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labour, cannot, with the sweat of their face, have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. these things with other are so unreasonably enhanced: and I think verily, that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound.

I will tell you, my lords and masters, this is not for the King's honour. Yet some will say, Knowest thou what belongeth unto the King's honour better than we? I answer, that the true honour of a King is most perfectly mentioned and pointed forth in the scriptures; of which ye be yet ignorant, for lack of time that ye cannot read it; albeit that your counsel be never so politic, yet it is not for the King's honour. What this honour meaneth ye cannot tell. It is the King's honour that his subjects be led in the true religion; that all his prelates and clergy be set about their work in preaching and studying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the King's honour that the commonwealth be advanced; that the dearth of these aforesaid things be provided for; and the commodities of this realm so employed, as it may be to the setting of his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. And herein resteth the King's honour and his office. So doing, his account before God shall be allowed and rewarded.

Furthermore, if the King's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people, then these graiers, inclosers, rent-raisers, are hinderers of the

King's honour ; for where there has been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog ; so they hinder the King's honour most of all.

My lords and masters, I say also, that all such proceedings which are against the King's honour, as I have in part declared before, and as far as I can perceive, do intend plainly to make the yeomanry slavery, and the clergy shavery.* For such works are all singular private wealth and commodity.—We of the clergy had too much, but this is taken away, and now we have too little. But for my own part I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the King, I have sufficient. And God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man any thing ; but I know them that have too little.

Great reformation is wanted in these appropriations. I know a great market town, with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pounds, and the vicar that serveth, being so great a cure, hath but twelve or fourteen marks by the year ; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbours drink ; and all the great gain goeth another way.

My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the utmost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for an hundred sheep ; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse, whilst he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds or twenty nobles apiece ; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept

* Means the Clergy's being fleeced of the church and abbey-lands ; whereby they were, in a sense, shaven or shorn.

hospitality for his poor neighbours; and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm: whereas he that now hath it pays sixteen pounds by the year, or more, and is not able to do any thing for his Prince, for himself, or for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Thus all the enhancing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where you had a single too much, you have enhanced the rents, and so have increased another too much: so now ye have double too much, which is too, too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners and inclosers, with many meetings and sessions; but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this one thing I will say unto you, from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass, that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school, as indeed Universities do wonderously decay already, and that they be not able to marry their daughters for the avoiding of whoredom; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm: for by yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no, read the Chronicles; ye shall find sometimes noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men: but verily, they that should look to the redress of these things, be the greatest against them. In this realm are a great many folks, and amongst many I know but one of tender zeal, who at the motion of his poor tenants hath let down his lands to the old rents for their relief. For God's love let not him be a phoenix, let him not be alone, let him not be an hermit closed in a wall; some good man follow him, and do as he giveth example.

Surveyors there be, that greedily devour poor men's goods; honest men I touch not, but all such as survey;

and the commons be utterly undone by them; whose bitter cry ascendeth up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth: the greedy pit of hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them. A redress God grant. For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I should despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the King's Majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things; giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have, is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful day of judgment, I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries. For, as the scriptures be, 'When they shall say, Peace, peace, all things are safe; then is the day at hand;' a happy day, I say, for all such as do in this world study to serve and please God, and continue in his faith, fear and love: and a dreadful horrible day for them that decline from God, walking in their own ways; to whom, as it is written in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, is said, 'Go, ye cursed, into everlasting punishment, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.' But unto the other he shall say; 'Come, ye blessed children of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' Of the which God make us all partakers. *Amen.*

S E R M O N VI.

THE DUTY OF KINGS,

CONTINUED.

Being the second preached before King Edward VI.

March 15, 1549.

ROMANS XV. 4.

For whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.

IN this book is contained doctrine for all estates, even for Kings. A King herein may learn how to guide himself. I told you in my last sermon much of the duty of a King, and there is one place behind yet, and it followeth in the text ;

DEUTERONOMY XVII. 18.

And when the King is set in the seat of his kingdom, he shall write him out a book, and take a copy of the priests, or Levites, &c.

HE shall have a book with him, and why ? To read in it all the days of his life, to learn to fear God, and learn his law, and other things, as it followeth in the text, that he turn not from God, neither to the right hand nor to the left. And wherefore shall he do this ?
' That he may live long, he and his children.'

Hitherto goeth the text. That I may declare this the better, to the edifying of your souls and the glory of God, I shall desire you to pray, *Our Father, &c.*

And

‘ And when the King is set in the seat of his kingdom,’ &c. Before I enter into this place, right honourable audience, I would repeat the place I was in last, and furnish it with an history or two, which I left out in my last sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdiness of the Jews, a froward and stiff-necked kind of people, much like our Englishmen now-a-days, that in the minority of a King, take upon them to break laws, and to go bye-ways : for when God had promised them a King, when it came to the point, they refused him. These men walked bye-walks ; and the saying is, many bye-walks, many balks ; many balks, much stumbling ; and where much stumbling is, there is sometimes a fall : howbeit there were some good walkers among them, that walked in the King’s highway ordinarily, uprightly, and plainly ; and for this purpose I would shew you an history which is written in the third chapter of the first book of Kings.

King David being an old man in his second childhood, for all old men are twice children, as the proverb is, An old man twice a child, it happened with him, as it doth oftentimes, when wicked men of a King’s childhood take occasion of evil.

This King David being weak of nature, and impotent, insomuch that when he was covered with cloaths he could take no heat, was counselled of his servants to take a fair young maid to nourish him, and to keep him warm in his body ; I suppose she was his wife. For though the scripture doth say, ‘ he knew her not,’ that is, carnally, yet it saith not, ‘ he married her not ;’ and I cannot think that King David would have had her to warm his bosom except she had been his wife, having a dispensation of God to have many wives. Well, what happened to King David in childhood, by the child of the devil ? Ye shall hear : King David had a proud son, whose name was Adonijah, a man full of ambition, desirous of honour, always climbing. Now whilst the time was of his father’s childhood, he would depose his father, not knowing of his father’s mind, saying, ‘ I will reign, I will be King.’ He was a stout-stomached child, a bye-walker, of an ambitious

bitious mind ; he would not consent to his father's friends, but got him a chariot, and men to run before it, and divers other adherents to help him forward : worldly wise-men, such as had been before of his father's council, great men in the world, and some, no doubt of it, came of good will, thinking no harm ; for they could not think that he did it without his father's will, having such great men to set him forth, for every man cannot have access at all times to the King, to know his pleasure. Well, albeit he would be King. He makes a great feast, and thereto calls Joab, the ringleader of his father's army, a worldly wise man, a bye-walker, that would not walk the King's highway ; and one Abiathar, the high priest : (for it is a marvel, if any mischief be in hand, if a priest be not at some end of it.) Abiathar took him as King, and cried, ' God save King Adonijah.' David suffered all this, and let him alone, for he was in his childhood, a bed-ridden man. But see how God ordered the matter, Nathan the prophet, and Zadock the priest, and Benaiah, the Cherethites and Pelethites, the King's guard, they were not called to the feast.

These were good men, and would not walk bye-ways, therefore it was folly to break the matter to them ; they were not called to council. Therefore Nathan, when he heard of this, he cometh to Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, and saith, ' Hear ye not how Adonijah, the son of ' Haggith, reigneth King, David not knowing ? ' And he had her put the King in mind of his oath that he sware, that her son Solomon should be King after him. This was wise counsel according to the proverb, ' He that ' walketh in the plain highway, walketh safely.'

Upon this she went and brake the matter to David, and desired him to shew who should reign after him in Jerusalem ; and added, that if Adonijah were King, she and her son after his death should be destroyed : saying, ' We shall be sinners,' we shall be taken for traitors ; for though we meant no harm, but walked uprightly, yet because we went not the bye-way with him, he being in authority will destroy us. And by-and-by cometh in
Nathan,

Nathan, and taketh her tale by the end, and sheweth him how Adonijah was saluted King, and that he had bid to dinner the King's servants, all saving him, and Zadock, and Benaiah, and all his brethren the King's sons, save Solomon.

King David remembering himself, swore, 'as sure as God liveth, Solomon my son shall reign after me : ' and by-and-by commandeth Nathan and Zadock, and his guard, the Cherethites and Pelethites, to take Solomon his son, and set him upon his mule, and anoint him King. And so they did, crying, ' Long live King Solomon.' Thus was Solomon enthroned by the advice and will of his father : and though he were a child, yet was his will to be obeyed and fulfilled, and they ought to have known his pleasure.

Whilst this was a doing, there was such a joy and outcry of the people, for their new King, and blowing of trumpets, that Joab and the other company being in their jollity, and keeping good cheer, heard it, and suddenly asked, what is this ado? And when they perceived that Solomon, by the advice of his father, was anointed King, by-and-by there all was hushed ; all their good cheer was done, and all that were with Adonijah, went away, and let him reign alone, if he would : and why? he walked a bye-way, and God would not prosper it.

God will not work with private authority, nor with any thing done inordinately. When Adonijah saw this, that he was left alone, he took sanctuary, and held by the horns of the altar, and swore that he would not depart thence till Solomon would swear that he should not lose his life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence and great mercy of King Solomon.

' Let him,' saith he, ' order himself like a quiet man, and there shall not one hair fall from his head ; but if there shall be any evil found in him, if he hath gone about any mischief, he shall die for it.' Upon this he was brought unto Solomon, and, as the book saith, he did homage unto him, And Solomon said to him : ' Get thee into thy house : ' as if he should say ; ' Shew thyself, with-
' out

‘out the gall of ambition, to be a quiet subject, and I will
‘pardon thee for this time; but I will see the wearing of
‘thee.’ Here we may see the wonderful great mercy of
Solomon, for this notorious treason that Adonijah had
committed; it was a plain matter, for he suffered himself
to be called King; it hung not of vehement suspicion or
conjecture, nor sequel, or consequent: yet, notwith-
standing, Solomon for that present forgave him, saying,
‘I will not forget it utterly, but I will keep it in suf-
‘pence, I will take no advantage of thee at this time.’
This Adonijah and Absalom were brethren, and came
both of a strange mother; and Absalom likewise was a
traitor, and made an insurrection against his father. Be-
ware therefore of these mothers; and let Kings take heed
how they marry, in what houses, in what faith: for
strange bringing up bringeth strange manners.

Now giveth David an exhortation to Solomon, and
teacheth him the duty of a King, and giveth him a lesson,
as it followeth at large in the book. But what doth
Adonijah all this while? He must yet climb again, the
gall of ambition was not out of his heart, he will now
marry Abishag, the young Queen that warmed King
David’s bosom, as I told you, and cometh to Bathsheba,
desiring her to be a mean to Solomon her son, that he
might obtain his purpose: thus bringing out a couple of
lies at once, and committing two unlawful acts. For
first he would have been King without his father’s con-
sent, and now he will marry his father’s wife. And the
two lies were these: first, said he to Bathsheba, ‘Thou
‘knowest that the kingdom belongeth unto me, for I am
‘the elder; the kingdom is mine.’ He lieth falsely, it
was none of his. Then said he, ‘All the eyes of Israel
‘are cast upon me:’ that is to say, all Israel consenteth
to it: and there he lieth falsely; for Nathan, Zadock
and other wise men, never agreed to it. Here was a great
enterprise of Adonijah, he will be climbing still. Well
Bathsheba went, at his request, to her son Solomon, and
asked a boon, and he granted her whatsoever she did ask:
notwithstanding, he broke his promise afterward, and

that right well ; for all promises are not to be kept, especially if they be against the word of God, or not standing with the common good.

And therefore as soon as Solomon heard that Adonijah would have married the young Queen Abishag ; nay, ‘ then let him be King too,’ said he ; ‘ now I perceive he is a naughty man, a proud-hearted man, the gall of ambition is not yet out of his heart,’ and so commanded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonijah put to execution ; whereas, if he had kept his house, and not broken his injunction, he might have lived still. Abiathar, what became of him ? The King, because he had served his father before him, would not put him to death, but made him, as it were, a *quondam*. ‘ Because thou hast been with my father,’ said he, ‘ and didst carry the ark before him, I will not kill thee ; but I will promise thee thou shalt never minister any more ; get thee to thy land, and live there.’ A great matter of pity and compassion ; so God grant us all such mercy.

And here was the end of Ely’s stock, according to the promise and threatening of God. As for the Pelethites we do not read that they were punished. Marry, Shimei transgressed his injunction ; for he kept not his house, but went out of Jerusalem to seek two servants of his that had run from him ; and when it came to Solomon’s ear, it cost him his life.

I have opened the matter now to the full, and have told you of plain-walkers, and of bye-walkers, and how a King in his childhood is a King, as well as in any other age. We read in scripture of such as were but eight or twelve years old, and yet the word of the Holy Ghost called them Kings, saying, ‘ He began to reign,’ or he began to be King. Here is of bye-walkers. This history should be remembered ; the proverb is, ‘ Happy is he that can beware of another man’s jeopardy.’ For if we offend not as others do, it is not our own deserts ; if we fall not, it is God’s preservation. We are all offenders : for either we may do, or have done, or shall do, except God preserve us, as evil as the worst of them. I

pray God we may all amend and repent : but we will all amend *now* I trust. We must needs amend our lives every man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receive it unworthily.

Well, to return to my history. King David, I say, was a King in his second childhood. And so young Kings, though they be children, yet are they Kings notwithstanding. And though it be written in scripture ; ' Woe to thee, O land, where the King is a child : ' it followeth in that place ; ' Blessed is the land where there ' is a noble King. ' * Where Kings be no banqueters, no players, and where they spend not their time in hawking and hunting : and when had the King's Majesty a council that took more pains, both night and day, for the setting forth of God's word, and profit of the commonwealth ? And yet there be some wicked people that will say, ' Tush, this will not tarry, it is but my Lord Protector's and my Lord of Canterbury's doing ; the King is a child, and he knoweth not of it. ' Jesus have mercy ! How like are we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked, and walking in bye-ways ? Yea, I think no Jew would at any time say, this will not tarry : I never heard or read at any time that they said, These laws were made in such a King's days, when he was but a child ; let us alter them. O Lord, what pity is this, that we should be worse than the Jews !

' Blessed be the land, ' saith the word of God, ' where the ' King is noble. ' What people are they that say, the King is but a child ? Have not we a noble King ? Was there ever King so noble, so godlily brought up with so noble counsellors, so excellent and well learned school-masters ? I will tell you this, and speak it even as I think ; His Majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life.

* Eccles. x. 16, 17.

I told you in my last sermon, of ministers, of the King's people, and how few noblemen were good preachers; and I left out an history then, which I will now tell you.

There was a Bishop of Winchester in King Henry the Sixth's days, which King was but a child,* and yet there were many good acts made in his childhood; and I do not read that they were broken. This Bishop was a great man born, and did bear such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the Lord Protector. Well, it chanced that the Lord Protector and he fell out, and the Bishop would bear nothing at all with him, but played the Satrapa; † so the Regent of France was fain to be sent for from beyond the seas, to set them at one, and go between them: for the Bishop was as able and ready to buckle with the Lord Protector, as he was with him. Was not this a good prelate? He should have been at home preaching in his diocese with a wannion. ‡

This Protector was so noble and godly a man, that he was called of every man the good Duke Humphrey. He kept such a house as never was since kept in England, without any enhancing of rents, I warrant you, or any such matter. And the Bishop for standing so stiffly by the matter, and bearing up the order of our mother, the holy church, was made a Cardinal at Calais; and thither the Bishop of Rome sent him a Cardinal's hat. He should have had a Tyburn tippet, a halfpenny halter, and all such proud prelates.—These Romish hats never brought good into England.

Upon this the Bishop goeth to the Queen Katherine, the King's wife, a proud and stout woman, and persuaded her, that if the Duke were in such authority still, and

* Henry the Sixth was but nine months old when he ascended the throne. The Duke of Gloucester was Lord Protector, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards a Cardinal, was guardian to the King. He was a great, wicked, and ambitious man.

† A governor of a Persian province.

‡ Crozier, or pastoral staff.

lived, the people would honour him more than the King; and the King should not be set by: and so between them, I cannot tell how it came to pass, but at St. Edmundsbury, the good Duke Humphrey was smothered.

But now to return to my text, and to make farther rehearsal of the same, the matter beginneth thus: 'And when the King is set in the seat of his kingdom, What shall he do? Shall he dance, and dally; banquet, hawk, and hunt? No forsooth, Sir: for as God set an order in the King's stable, as I told you in my last sermon, so will he appoint what pastime a King shall have. What must he do then? He must be a student, he must write God's book himself: not thinking because he is a King he hath licence to do what he will, as these worldly flatterers are wont to say. 'Yea, trouble not yourself, Sir, ye may hawk, and hunt, and take your pleasure. 'As for the guiding of your kingdom and people, let us alone with it.'

These flatterers are the original roots of all mischief, and yet a King may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them the more refreshed: and this is called pastime with good company. He must write out a book himself. He speaketh of writing, because printing was not used at that time. And shall the King write it out himself? He meaneth, he shall see it written, and rather than he shall be without it, write it himself. Jesus have mercy! is God so careful of a King, to have him well brought up, and instructed? Yea, forsooth: for if the King be well ordered, the realm is well ordered.

Where shall we have a copy of this book? Of the Levites. And why? Because it shall be a true copy, not falsified. Moses left the book in an old chest,* as the Levites had it in keeping. And because there should be no error, no addition, no taking away from it, he biddeth them fetch the copy of the Levites.

* The Ark.

And was not here a great miracle of God, how this book was preserved? It had lain hid many years, and the Jews knew not of it. Therefore at length, when they had found it, and knew it, they lamented for their ignorance that they had so long been without it, and rent their clothes, repenting their unfaithfulness.* And the holy Bible, God's book, that we have among us, it hath been preserved hitherto by a wonderful miracle of God, though the keepers of it were never so malicious. First, ever since the Bishop of Rome was in authority, they have gone about to destroy it; but God worketh wonderfully, he hath preserved it, maugre their hearts, and yet are we so unthankful that we do not consider it. I will tell you what a bishop of this realm said once to me: he sent for me, and marvelled that I would not consent to such traditions as were then set out. And I answered him, that I would be ruled by God's book, and rather than I would dissent one jot from it, I would be torn with wild horses. And I chanced in our communication, to name the Lord's Supper? 'Tush,' saith the bishop, 'What do you call the Lord's Supper? What new term is that?' There stood by him, one Doctor Dubber, (he dubbed him by-and-by,) and said, that this term was seldom read in the doctors. And I made answer, that I would rather follow Paul in using his terms, than them, though they had all the doctors on their side. "Why," said the bishop, "cannot we without scriptures order the people? How did they before the scripture was first written and copied out?" But God knoweth, full ill yet would they have ordered them. For seeing that having it, they have deceived us, in what case should we have been now without it? But thanks be to God, that by so wonderful a miracle he hath preserved the book still.

It followeth in the text, 'He shall have it with him:' in his progress he must have a man to carry it, that when he is hawking and hunting, or in any pastime, he may

* II. Kings. xxii.

always commune with them of it. He shall read in it, not once a year, for a time, or for his recreation when he is weary of hawking and hunting, but, 'all the days of his life.' Where are these worldlings now? These bladder-puffed-up wily men? Wo worth them that ever they were about any King! But how shall he read this book, as the * Homilies are read? Some call them *homelies*, and indeed so they may be well called, for they are homelily handled: for though the priest read them never so well, yet if the parish like them not, there is such talking and babbling in the church that nothing can be heard: and if the parish be good and the priest naught, he will so hack and chop it, that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that shall be understood. And yet the more pity that it is suffered of your Grace's bishops in their diocesses unpunished. But I will be a suiter to your Grace, that ye will give your bishops charge ere they go home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flock, and to see your Majesty's injunctions better kept, and send your visitors after them. And if they be found negligent or faulty in their duties, out with them. I require it in God's behalf, make them *quondams*, all the pack of them. But peradventure ye will say, Where shall we have any to put in their rooms? Indeed I were a presumptuous fellow, to procure your Grace to put them out, if there were not other to put in their places. But your Majesty hath divers of your chaplains, well learned men, and of good knowledge; and yet ye have some that be bad enough, hangers-on of the court, I mean not those. But if your Majesty's chaplains, and my Lord Protector's, be not able to furnish their places, there is in this realm, thanks be to God, a great many laymen, well learned in the scriptures, and of a vir-

* The Homilies here meant, were those composed and published by Abp. Cranmer: they were plain discourses intended for the instruction of the common people, as the word itself (from *ὁμιλία*) imports, and were designed to be read in those churches which had not sufficient ministers.

ous and godly conversation, better learned than a great many of us of the clergy.

I can name a number of them that are able, and would be glad, I dare say, to minister the function, if they be called to it. I move it of conscience to your Grace; let them be called to it orderly, let them have institution, and give them the names of the clergy. I mean not the name only, but let them do the function of a bishop, and live of the same; not as it is in many places, that one should have the name, and eight others the profit: for what an enormity is this in a Christian realm to serve in a civility, having the profit of a provostship, and a deanery, and a parsonage? But I will tell you what is like to come of it; it will bring the clergy shortly into a very slavery.

I may not forget here my heavenly ladder, that I have sometimes spoken of. I will repeat it now again, desiring your Grace in God's behalf, that ye will remember it. The Bishop of Rome had a ladder, but his was a mass matter: but this ladder which reacheth unto heaven, that I now speak of, is the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven. The top of the ladder, or first step, is this: 'Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.' The second step; 'How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed?' The third step is this; 'How shall they believe in him, of whom they have never heard?' The fourth step; 'How shall they hear without a preacher?' Now the foot of the ladder is this; 'How shall they preach except they be sent?*' This is the foot of the ladder, so that we may go backward now, and use the school argument: Take away preaching, take away salvation. But I fear one thing; and that is, lest for the saving of a little money, you will put in chantry priests to save their pensions. But I will tell you, Christ bought souls with his blood, and will ye sell them for gold and silver? I would not that ye should do with the chantry priests, as ye did with the abbots,

* Rom. x. 13—15.

when abbies were put down ; for when their enormities were first read in the Parliament house, they were so great and abominable, that there was nothing but, 'Down with them : ' but within a while after, the same abbots were made bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save and redeem their pensions. What ! think ye that God is a fool, and seeth it not ? And if he see it, will he not punish it ? And so now for saving of money, I would not that ye should put in chantry priests. I speak not now against such chantry priests as are able to preach, but those that are not able. I will not have them put in ; for if ye do this, ye shall answer for it.

It is added also, that a King ought to fear God, ' He shall have the dread of God before his eyes.' Work not by worldly policy, for worldly policy feareth not God. Take heed of these clawbacks, these venomous people that will come to you, that will follow you like true parasites ; if you follow them, you are out of your book. If it be not according to God's word that they counsel you, do it not for any worldly policy, for then ye fear not God.

It followeth likewise, ' That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren.' A King must not be proud, for God might have made him a shepherd, when he made him a King, and have done him no wrong. There be many examples of proud Kings in scripture ; as Pharaoh, that would not hear the message of God. Herod also, that put John Baptist to death, and would not hear him : he told him, that ' it was not lawful for him to marry his brother's wife.' Jeroboam also was a proud King. Another King there was that worshipped strange gods, and idols of those men whom he had overcome before in battle : and when a prophet told him of it, ' What ! ' said he, ' who made you one of my council ? ' These were proud Kings : their examples are not to be followed.

But wherefore shall a King ' fear God, and turn neither to the right hand nor to the left ? ' Wherefore shall he do all this ? ' That he may prolong his days, he and his children.' Remember this, I beseech your Grace.

And

And when these flatterers another day shall come, and claw you by the back, and say, Sir, trouble not yourself. What should you study? Why should you do this, or that? Your Grace may answer them thus, and say, What! I perceive you are weary of us and our posterity. Doth not God say in such a place, that a King should write out a book of God's law, and read it? Learn to fear God, and why? That he and his might reign long. I perceive now thou art a traitor.

Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you, neither he, nor any after such a sort.

And thus shall your Grace drive these flatterers and clawbacks away.

But I am afraid I have troubled you too long; therefore I will furnish the text with an history or two, and then I will leave you to God. You have heard how a King ought to pass his time; he must read the book of God; and it is not enough for him to read, but he must be acquainted with all scripture; he must study, and he must pray: and how shall he do both these?

He may learn of Solomon. God spake unto Solomon when he was made a King, and bade him ask of him what he would, and he should have it. 'Make thy petition,' said God, 'and thou shalt obtain.' Now mark Solomon's prayer: 'O Lord God,' saith he, 'it is thou that hast caused me to reign, and hast set me in my father's seat; for thou God only makest Kings.'*

Thus should Kings praise and thank God, as Solomon did. But what was his petition? 'Lord,' said he, 'grant me a docible heart, a wise heart, and wisdom to go in and to go out:' that is, to begin all my affairs well, and to bring them to good effect and purpose, that I may learn to guide and govern my people.

When he had made this petition, it pleased God well that Solomon asked wisdom, and neither riches nor long

* I. Kings iii. 6—13.

life ; and therefore God made him this answer : ' Because ' thou hast chosen wisdom above all things, I will give it ' thee ; and thou shalt be the wisest King that ever was.' And so he was, the wisest in all kind of knowledge. And though he did not ask riches, yet God gave him both riches and honour, more than ever any of his ancestors had. So your Grace must learn how to do of Solomon : you must make your petition, study, and pray.

And when God had given Solomon wisdom, he sent him by-and-by occasion to occupy his wit. For God never gave a gift, but he sent occasion, at one time or other, to shew it to God's glory. As, if he sent riches, he sendeth poor men to be helped with it. But now, men must occupy their goods otherwise : they will not look on the poor, they must help their children, and purchase them more land than ever their grandfathers had before them. But I shall tell you what Christ said : ' He ' that loveth his child better than me, is not worthy to be ' my disciple.* And I cannot see how ye shall stand before God at the latter day, when this sentence shall be laid against you.

But to return to my purpose : there were two poor women came before Solomon to complain ; they were two harlots, and dwelled together in one house, and it chanced within two days each had a son. The one of these women by chance, in the night, had killed her child, and rose privily and went to the other woman, and took her live child away, and left her dead child in its place. Upon that they came both before Solomon to have the matter judged whose the child was. And the one said, it is my child : nay, saith the other, it is my child : nay, saith the other, it is mine. So there was yea and nay between them ; and they held up the matter with scolding after a woman-like fashion. At length Solomon repeated their tale as a good judge ought to do, and said to the one woman, ' Thou sayest that child is thine.' Yea, said she. ' And thou sayest it is thine,' to the other.

* Luke xiv. 26.

Well, fetch me a sword,' saith he: for there was no way now to try which was the true mother, but by natural inclination. And so he said to one of his servants, 'Fetch me a sword, and divide the child between them.' When the mother of the child, that accused the other, heard him say so; 'Nay, for God's sake,' said she, 'let her have the whole child, and kill it not.' 'Nay,' quoth the other, 'neither thine nor mine, but let it be divided.' Then said Solomon, 'Give this woman the child, this is the mother of the child.' What came of this? 'When all Israel heard of this judgement, they feared the King.'* It is wisdom and godly knowledge that causeth a King to be feared.

One word note here, for God's sake, and I will trouble you no longer. Would Solomon, being so noble a King, hear two poor women? They were poor, for, as the scripture saith, 'They were together alone in a house;' they had not so much as one servant between them both. Would King Solomon, I say, hear them in his own person? Yea, forsooth. And yet I hear of many matters before my Lord Protector, and my Lord Chancellor, that cannot be heard. I must desire my Lord Protector's Grace to hear me in this matter, that your Grace would hear poor mens' suits yourself: put them to none other to hear; let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that money is heard every where; if he be rich, he shall soon have an end of his matter.

Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for any help they can obtain at any judge's hand. Hear mens' suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf, and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats. I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterbury, and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it.

* I. Kings iii.

But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no sooner in the garden, and have read awhile, but by-and-by cometh there some or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith, 'Sir, there is one at the gate would speak with you.' When I come there, then it is some or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard, that he hath lain thus long at a great cost and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing: but, among all other, one especially moved me at this time to speak. This it is, Sir:

A gentlewoman came to me and told me, that a great man keeps certain lands of hers from her, and will be her tenant in the spite of her teeth: and that in a whole twelvemonth she could get but one day for the hearing of her matter; and the same day, when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great number of lawyers for his counsel; the gentlewoman had but one man of law; and the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do. So that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the great man have a quietness in her land.

I beseech your Grace that ye will look to these matters. Hear them yourself: view your judges, and hear poor mens' causes. And you, proud judges, hearken what God saith in his holy book: 'Hear them,' saith he, 'the small as well as the great, the poor as well as the rich.' Regard no person, fear no man; why? Because 'the judgement is God's.* Mark this saying, thou proud judge. Hell will be full of these judges, if they repent not and amend. They are worse than the wicked judge that Christ speaketh of, that neither feared God nor the world.

There was a certain widow that was a suitor to a judge, and she met him in every corner of the street, crying, 'I pray you hear me, I beseech you hear me, I ask no-

* Deut. i. 17

* thing

‘ thing but right.’ When the judge saw her so importunate, ‘ Though I fear neither God,’ saith he, ‘ nor the world, yet because of her importunateness, I will grant her request.’* But our judges are worse than this judge was, for they will neither hear men for God’s sake, nor fear of the world, nor importunateness, nor any thing else. Yea, some of them will command them to ward, if they be importunate.

I heard say, that when a suitor came to one of them, he said, ‘ What fellow is it that giveth these folks counsel to be so importunate? he should be punished and committed to ward.’ Marry, Sir, punish me then; it is even I that gave them counsel, I would gladly be punished in such a cause: and if you amend not, I will cause them to cry out upon you still; even as long as I live. I will do it indeed. But I have troubled you long. As I began with this sentence, ‘ All things that are written,’ &c. so I will end now with this text, ‘ Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.’† There was another suitor, and I had almost forgotten it.

There is a poor woman that liveth in the Fleet, and cannot come, by any means that she can make, to her answer, and would fain be bailed, offering to put in sureties worth a thousand pounds; and yet she cannot be heard. Methinks this is a reasonable cause, it is great pity that such things should be so. I beseech God that he will grant, that all that is amiss may be amended, that we may hear his word and keep it; that we may come to the eternal bliss, to the which I beseech God to bring both you and me. *Amen.*

* Luke xviii. 4, 5.

† Luke xi. 28.

S E R M O N VII.

THE DUTY OF KINGS,

CONTINUED.

*Being the third preached before King Edward VI.
March 22, 1549.*

ROMANS XV. 4.

*Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for
our learning;*

ALL things that be written in God's holy book the Bible, are written to be our learning, long before our time, to serve from time to time, and so forth to the world's end.

Ye shall have in remembrance, most benign and gracious audience, that a preacher hath two offices, and the one to be used orderly after the other. The first is, 'to teach true doctrine.' He shall have likewise occasion oftentimes to use another; and that is, 'to reprehend, to convince, to confute gainfayers, and spurners against the truth.*' Why? you will say, will any body gainfay true doctrine, and sound doctrine? Well, let a preacher be sure that his doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought that any body will gainfay it. If St. Paul had not foreseen that there should be gainfayers, he had not need to have appointed the confutation of gainfaying. Was there ever yet preachers, but there were gainfayers that spurned, that winched, that blasphemed, that gainfayed

* Titus i. 9.

it. When Moses came to Egypt with sound doctrine, he had Pharaoh to gainsay him. Jeremiah was the minister of the true word of God, he had gainfayers, the priests and the false Prophets. Elias had all Baal's priests supported by Jezebel, to speak against him. John the Baptist, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, had the pharisees, the scribes, and the priests gainfayers to them. The apostles had gainfayers also; for it was said to St. Paul at Rome, 'We know that every man doth gainsay this learning.'* After the apostles time the truth was gainsayed by tyrants, as Nero, Maxentius, Domitian, and such like; and also by the doctrine of wicked heretics. In the popish mass-time there was no gainsaying, all things seemed to be in peace, in concord, in quiet agreement. So long as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popish mass, we were then without gainsaying. What was that? The same that Christ speaketh of, 'When Satan, the devil, hath the guiding of the house, he keepeth all in peace that is in his possession.'† When Satan ruleth, and beareth dominion in open religion, as he did with us when we preached pardon matters, purgatory matters, and pilgrimage matters, all was quiet. He is wary enough, he is wily, and circumspect for stirring up any sedition. When he keepeth his territory all is in peace. If there were any man that preached in England in times past, in the Pope's times, peradventure there was two or three, straightways he was taken and nipped in the head with the title of an heretic. When he hath their religion in possession, he stirreth up no sedition, I warrant you.

How many dissensions have we heard of in Turkey? but a few I warrant you. He busieth himself there with no dissention. For he hath there dominion in the open religion, and needeth not to trouble himself any farther. The Jews, like runagates, wheresoever they dwell (for they be dispersed, and be tributaries in all countries where they inhabit) look whether you hear of any heresies

* Acts xxviii. 22.

† Matt. xii. 29.

among them? But when one stronger than the devil cometh in place, which is our Saviour Jesus Christ, and revealeth his word, then the devil roareth, then he bestirreth him, then he raiseth diversity of opinions to slander God's word. And if ever concord should have been in religion, when should it have been but when Christ was here? Ye find fault with preachers, and say, they cause sedition. We are noted to be rash, and indiscreet in our preaching. Yet as discreet as Christ was, there was diversity, yea, about what he was himself. For when he asked what men called him, his apostles answered him: 'Some say, you are John the Baptist, some say you are Elias, and some say, ye are one of the prophets;'^{*} and these were they that spake best of him. For some said, he was a Samaritan, that he had a devil within him; a drinker, a pot-companion.[†] There was never a prophet to be compared to him, and yet there was never more dissention then when he was on earth, and preached himself. If it were contradicted then, will ye think it shall not be now, when charity is so cold and iniquity so strong? Thus the backbiters and slanderers must be convinced. St. Paul said, there shall be such as are untoward, disobedient vain-speakers. For the which St. Paul appointeth the preacher to stop their mouth, and it is a preacher's office to be a mouth-stopper.

This day I must do somewhat in the second office, I must be a gainfayer, and I must stop their mouths, convince, reſel, and confute them that ſpeak ſlanderouſly of me.

There be ſome gainfayers, for there be ſome ſlanderous people, vain-speakers, and untoward ones, which I muſt needs ſpeak againſt. But firſt I will make a ſmall rehearſal to put you in memory of that that I ſpoke in my laſt ſermon. And that done, I will confute one that ſlandereth me. For one there is that I muſt needs answer unto, for he ſlandereth me for my preaching before the King's Maſteſty. There be ſome to blame, that when the

^{*} Matt. xvi. 14.

John viii. 28.

preacher is weary, they will have him speak all at once.

Ye must tarry till ye hear more, ye must not be offended till ye hear the rest. Hear all, and then judge all. What, ye are very hasty, very quick with your preachers. But before I enter farther into this matter, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

First of all, as touching my first sermon, I will run it over cursorily. I brought in a history of the Bible, exciting my audience to beware of bye-walkings, to walk the King's highway, and agree to that which standeth with the order of a realm. I shewed you how we were indebted to the blessing of God for our noble King. I shewed you we have a noble King, and a true inheritor to the crown without doubt. I shewed furthermore of his godly education. He hath such schoolmasters, as cannot be gotten in all the realm again.

Wherefore we may be sure that God blesteth this realm, although he curseth the realm whose ruler is a child, under whom the officers be climbing, and glean- ing, snatching, and scraping, and voluptuously set on banqueting, and for the maintenance of their voluptu- ousness go bye-walks. And although he be young, he hath as good, and as sage a council as ever was in Eng- land; which we may well know by their godly proceed- ings, and setting forth the word of God. Therefore let us not be worse than the stiff-necked Jews. In Josiah's time, who being young, did alter, change, and correct wonderfully the religion; it was never found in Jewry, that the people repined or said, The King is a child: this will not last long: it is but one or two mens' doings: it will not tarry but for a time. The King knoweth it not. Wo worth that ever such men were born! Take heed lest for your rebellion God take his blessing away from us. I entered into the place of the King's pastime, I told you how he must pass his time in reading the book of God, (for that is the King's pastime by God's appoint- ment) in the which book he shall learn to fear God, O how careful God is to set in order all things that belong

to a King, in his chamber, in his stable, and in his treasure-house !

These peevish people in this realm have nothing but the King, the King, in their mouths, when it maketh for their purpose. As there was a doctor that preached, the King's Majesty hath his holy water, he creepeth to the cross, and then they have nothing but the King, the King in their mouths. These be the good people that must have their mouths stopped : but if a man tell them of the King's proceedings, then they have their shifts and their put-offs, saying, we may not go before a law, we may break no order. These be the wicked preachers and gainfayers, whose mouths must be stopped.

Another thing there is that I told you of, ' The heart of a King must not be lifted up.' The King must not be proud over his brethren. He must order his people with brotherly love and charity. Here I brought in examples of proud Kings. It is a great pride in Kings and magistrates, when they will not hear, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of God. It is another kind of pride in Kings, when they think themselves so high, and so lofty, that they disdain, and think it not for their honour, to hear poor mens causes themselves. They have clawbacks that say unto them, What, Sir ? what need you to trouble yourself ? Take your pleasure, hunt hawk, dance, and dally ; let us alone, we will govern and order the commonweal matters well enough. Were it worth such men, they have been the root of all mischief and destruction in the realm !

A King ought not only to read and study, but also to pray. Let him take an example of Solomon, who pleased God highly with his petition, desiring no worldly thing, but wisdom, which God did not only grant him, but because he asked wisdom, he gave him many more things ; as riches, honour, and such like. O how pleased God that he asked wisdom ! And after he had given him this wisdom, he sent him also occasion to use the same by a couple of strumpets. He heard them in his own person : and I think verily the natural mother had

never had her own child, if he had not heard the cause himself. They were whores ; although some excuse the matter, and say they were but alehouse keepers. But it is but folly to excuse them, seeing the Jews were such, and not unlike ; but they had their stews, and the maintenance of whoredom, as they had of other vices.

One thing I must here desire you to reform, my Lords ; you have put down the * stews. But I pray you what is the matter amended ? what availeth that ? ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. God should be honoured every where. For the scripture saith, ‘ The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof.’† What place then should be within a Christian realm left to dishonour God ? I must needs shew you such news as I hear. For though I see it not myself, it cometh faster to me than I would wish. I say as St. Paul did to the Corinthians, ‘ There is such whoredom among you as is not among the Gentiles.’‡ So likewise, I hear say that there is such whoredom in England as never was seen the like. He charged all the Corinthians for one man’s offence, saying, ‘ They were all guilty for one man’s sin, if they would not correct and redress it, but wink at it.’ Lo, here may you see how that one man’s sin polluted all Corinth : ‘ A little leaven,’ as St. Paul saith, ‘ corrupted a deal of dough.’ This is, ‘ To be partaker of other mens sins.’ I advertise you in God’s name look to it. I hear say, there is now more whoredom in London, than ever there was on the Bank side. These be the news I have to tell you. Ye ought to hear of it, and redress it. I hear of it, as St. Paul saith, There is more open whoredom, more secret whoredom than ever was before. For God’s sake let it be looked upon, it is your office to see unto it. Now to my confutation,

* These Stews were in number nineteen, and were all of them on the Bank side in Southwark ; and in those days, no Brothel or Bawdy-house was suffered to be kept in London ; for these public Stews or Bawdy-houses were suppressed by King Henry VIII.

† Pl. xxiv. 1.

‡ I. Cor. v. 1, &c.

There is a certain man, that shortly after my first sermon, being asked if he had been at the sermon that day, answered, Yea: 'I pray you,' saith he, 'how liked you 'him?' 'Marry,' saith he, 'even as I liked him al-
'ways; a seditious fellow.' There he pinched me indeed; yet I comforted myself with this, that Christ himself was noted to be a stirrer up of the people against the Emperor, and was contented to be called seditious. It becometh me to take it in good part; I am not better than he was. In the King's days that is dead, many of us were called together before him to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeled down and accused me of sedition, that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as if I should name him, ye would not think it.*

The King turned to me and said, 'What say you to 'that, Sir?' Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to mine accuser, and required him: 'Sir, What form
'of preaching would you appoint me to preach before a
'King? Would ye have me preach nothing as concern-
'ing a King, in the King's sermon? Have you any com-
'mission to appoint me what I shall preach?' Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make answer to none of them all: he had nothing to say. Then I turned me to the King, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, 'I never thought myself worthy, I
'never sued, to be a preacher before your Grace, but I
'was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike
'me, to give place to my betters; for, I grant, there be
'a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And
'if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for
'preachers, I could be content to bear their books after
'them. But if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I
'would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge
'my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine ac-
'cording to my audience: I had been a very dolt indeed

* See the Life, page 22.

to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.'

And I thank Almighty God, which hath always been my remedy, that my sayings were well accepted of the King, for, like a gracious Lord, he turned into another communication: it is even as the scripture saith, 'The Lord directeth the King's heart.'* Certain of my friends came to me, with tears in their eyes, and told me, they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night. Thus have I evermore been burdened with the word sedition.

I have offended God grievously, transgressing his law, and but for this remedy and his mercy, I would not look to be saved. As for sedition, if I be clear in any thing, I am clear in this. So far as I know mine own heart, there is no man farther from sedition than I, which I have declared in all my doings, and yet it hath been ever laid to me.

Another time, when I resigned my bishoprick, I should have received a certain duty that they call a Pentecostal,† it came to the sum of fifty-five pounds: I set my commissary to gather it, but he could not be suffered; for it was said a sedition should rise upon it.

Thus they burdened me ever with sedition. So this gentleman cometh up now with sedition. And know ye, that I chanced, in my last sermon, to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my auditory, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat; I was herein noted to speak seditiously. Yet I comfort myself, in one thing, that I am not alone, but that I have a companion: for it is the comfort of the wretched to have company.

* Prov. xxi. 1.

† This was a voluntary offering made at Whitfuntide, by the churches or parishes in every diocess to the cathedral or mother-church; and which was collected at this season by the bishop's commissary: an officer that supplies the bishop's place in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the out-parts of his diocess, &c.

When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular; that no man thought as I thought; that I loved singularity in all I did; and that I took a way contrary to the King and the whole Parliament: and that I had to do with them that had better wits than I, and that I was contrary to them all.

Marry, Sir, these were fore thunderbolts. I thought it an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no company: I thought it not possible to be true that they told me. In the seventh of John, the priests sent out certain of the Jews to bring Christ unto them violently. When they came into the temple and heard him preach, they were so moved with his preaching, that they returned home again, and said to them that sent them, 'There was 'never man spake like this man.' Then answered the Pharisees, 'Wherefore also ye are seduced!' What, ye brain-sick fools, do ye believe him? Are ye seduced also? Did ye see any great man, or any great officer take his part? Do ye see any body follow him, but beggarly fishers, and such as have nothing to take to? Do you see any holy man, any perfect man, any learned man, take his part? They say these people are accursed, it is they that know not the law that take his part, and none else.

Lo, here the Pharisees had nothing to cloak the people withal but ignorance. They did as our bishops of England, who upbraided the people always with ignorance, whereas they were the cause of it themselves. 'There were,' saith St. John, 'many of the chief men believed 'in him,'* and that was contrary to the Pharisees saying: O then belike they belied him, he was not alone. So, thought I, there be more of my opinion than I thought, I am not alone. I have now gotten one more, a companion of sedition, and know you who is my fellow? Ifaiah, the prophet. I spake but of a little pretty shilling, but he speaketh to Jerusalem after another sort, and was so bold as to meddle with their coin. Thou proud, thou covetous, thou haughty city of Jerusalem:

* John xii. 22,

' Thy

‘Thy silver is turned into,’ what? into testoons? † into ‘drofs?’ §

Ah, seditious wretch, what had he to do with the mint? Why should he not have left that matter to some master of policy to reprove? ‘Thy silver is drofs;’ it is not fine, it is counterfeit; thy silver is turned, thou hadst good silver. What pertained that to Isaiah? Marry, he espied a piece of divinity in that policy, he threateneth them with God’s vengeance for it.

He went to the root of the matter, which was covetousness. He espied two points in it, that either it came of covetousness, which became him to reprove; or else, that it tended to the hurt of poor people; for the naughtiness of the silver was the occasion of the dearth of all things in the realm. He imputeth it to them as a great crime. He may be called a master of sedition indeed. Was not this a seditious fellow, to tell them this even to their faces?

This seditious man goeth also forth, saying, ‘Thy wine is mingled with water.’ Here he meddleth with the vintners: belike there were brewers in those days, as there be now. It had been good for our missal priests to have dwelt in that country, for they might have been sure to have their wine well mingled with water. I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindness and ignorance, when I should say mass, I have put in water twice or thrice for fear of lying; insomuch, when I have been at my memento, have had a grudge in my conscience for fear that I had not put in water enough. And that which is here spoken of wine, he means it of all arts in the city, of all kinds of faculties; for they have all their mixings and minglings. That he speaketh of one thing, he means generally of all. I must tell you more news yet.

† An old silver coin among the French, which bore the value of eighteen pence. But in the time of King Henry the Eighth, being made of brass, and only covered with silver, it was reduced to twelve pence; under Edward the Sixth to nine pence, and afterwards to six pence.

§ Isaiah i. 22, &c.

I hear

I hear say there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you, were it not a wonder to hear that cloth-makers should become apothecaries? Yea, and as I hear say, in such a place, where they have professed the gospel and the word of God most earnestly of a long time? See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God: thus the poor gospel goes to wrack.

If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set it on a rack and stretch it out with ropes, and rack it till the sinews shrink again, while he hath brought it to eighteen yards. When they have brought it to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thicken it again: they make a powder for it, and play the apothecary; they call it flock powder; they do so incorporate it with the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider: truly a good invention. O that so goodly wits should be so ill applied! They may well deceive the people, but they cannot deceive God. They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too: now they have turned flocks into powder, to play the false thieves with it. O, wicked devil! What can he not invent to blaspheme God's word? These mixtures come of covetousness; they are plain theft. Worthless, that these flocks should slander the word of God; as he said to the Jews, 'Thy wine is mingled with water,' so might he have said to us of this land, Thy cloth is mingled with flock powder. He goes on yet.

This seditious man reproveth this honourable city, and faith, 'Thou land of Jerusalem, thy magistrates, thy judges, are unfaithful!' they will talk of many gay things; they will pretend to this and that, but they will keep no promise: they be worse than unfaithful. He was not afraid to call the officers unfaithful, and the 'fellows of thieves;' for thieves, and thieves fellows, be all of one sort. They were wont to say, Ask my fellow if I be a thief. He calleth princes thieves: What? princes thieves! What a seditious varlet was this! Was he worthy to live in a commonwealth, that would call princes on this wise, fellows of thieves? Had they a standing at Shooters-hill, or Standgate-hole, to take a

purse?

purse? Why, did they stand by the highway side? Did they rob or break open any man's house or door? No, no; that is a gross kind of thieving: they were princes, they had a prince-like kind of thieving; 'they all love bribes:' bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be swayed by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor; or to put off the poor man's cause. This is the noble theft of princes and magistrates: they are bribe-takers. Now-a-days they call them gentle rewards: let them leave their colouring, and call them by their Christian name—bribes. 'All the princes, all the judges, all the priests, all the rulers, are bribers.' What! were all the magistrates in Jerusalem, all bribe-takers? None good? No doubt there were some good.

This word *all* often signifieth the most part, and so there be some good, I doubt not, in England: but yet we be far worse than those stiff-necked Jews; for we read of none of them that winched nor kicked against Isaiah's preaching, or said that he was a seditious fellow. It becometh the magistrates to be in credit, and therefore it might seem that Isaiah was to blame to speak openly against the magistrates: it is very sure that they that be good will bear, and not spurn at the preachers; they that be faulty must amend, and neither spurn, nor wince, nor whine. He that findeth himself touched or galled, he declareth himself not to be upright. Wo worth these gifts, they subvert justice every where. 'They follow bribes.' Somewhat was given to them before, and they must needs have somewhat again; for Giffe-gaffe* was a good fellow; this Giffe-gaffe led them clean from justice. 'They followed gifts.'

I am content to bear the title of sedition with Isaiah: thanks be to God, I am not alone, I am in no singularity. The same man that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time, whether he were at the sermon at Paul's Cross? He answered, that he was there. And being asked, 'What news there?' 'Marry,' quoth he,

* An obsolete word for a briber, &c.

'wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule, and all had full absolution.' You may see by this, that he was such a one as rode on a mule,* and that he was a gentleman: indeed his mule was wiser than he; for I dare say the mule never slandered the preacher. O an unhappy chance had this mule, to carry such an ass upon her back! I was there at that sermon myself: in the end of this sermon he gave a general absolution, and, as far as I remember, these or such other like words he spake; but at the least I am sure this was his meaning: 'As many as do acknowledge yourselves to be finners, and do confess the same, and stand not in defence of it, but heartily abhor it; and will believe in the death of Christ, and will be conformable thereunto, I absolve you;' quoth he. Now, saith this gentleman, his mule was absolved. The preacher absolved none but such as were sorry and did repent. Belike then she did repent her stumbling; his mule was wiser than he a great deal. I speak not of worldly wisdom, for therein he is too, too wise; yea, he is so wise, that wise men marvel how he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath: but in wisdom which consisteth in godly matters, and in things appertaining to our salvation, in this wisdom he is as blind as a beetle: 'Like horses and mules, that have no understanding.'† If it were true that the mule repented her of her stumbling, I think she was better absolved than he. I pray God stop his mouth; or else to open it to speak better, and more to his glory.

Another man touched with a word I spake, as he said, opprobriously against the nobility, that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates, was offended with me. I did not mean so; but that some noblemens' children had set forth God's word; howbeit, poor mens' sons have done it always, for the

* It was at this time usual for great personages to ride upon mules finely caparisoned.

† Psalm xxxii. 9.

most part. John Alasco* was here, a greatly learned man, and, as they say, a nobleman in his own country, and is gone his way again: if it be for lack of entertainment, more the pity.

I would wish such men as he to be in the realm, for the realm should prosper in receiving of them: 'Whoso receiveth you, receiveth me,' saith Christ; and it should be for the King's honour to receive them and keep them. I heard say Master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither: I would wish him, and such as he is, to have two hundred pounds a year; the King should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two very learned men, Peter Martyr, and Bernard Ochinus, which have a hundred marks apiece: I would the King would bestow a thousand pounds on that sort.

Now I will to my place again. In the latter end of my sermon, I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great; 'You must not only do justice, but do it justly:' you must observe all circumstances; you must give justice, and minister just judgement in time: for the delaying of matters of the poor folk is as sinful before the face of God, as wrong judgement.

I rehearsed here a parable of a wicked judge, which, for importunity's sake, heard the poor woman's cause, &c. Here is a comfortable place for all you that cry out and are oppressed! For you have not a wicked judge, but a merciful judge to call unto. I am not now so full of foolish pity, but I can consider well enough, that some of you complain without a cause.

They weep, they wail, they mourn, I am sure some not without a cause. I did not here reprove all judges, and find fault with all: I think we have some as good magistrates as ever were in England; but I will not say that they be all so: and they that be not of the best, must

* An eminent Scotch Reformer; the others, hereafter mentioned, were foreign divines, who greatly forwarded the Reformation.

be content to be taught, and not disdain to be reprehended. I refer to your conscience, 'Ye that be judges 'on the earth,' whether ye have heard poor mens' causes with expedition or no: if ye have not, then be content to be touched, to be told. You widows, you orphans, you poor people, here is a comfortable place for you. Though these judges of the world will not hear you, there is one will be content with your importunity, he will remedy you, if you come after a right sort unto him. Ye say the judge doth blame you for your importunity, it is irksome unto him. He entered into this parable to teach you to be importunate in your petition—'Not to be 'weary.' Here he teacheth you to know how to come in adversity, and by what means, which is by prayer. I do not now speak of the merit of Christ, for he saith, 'I am the way. Whoso believeth in me hath everlasting 'life.'* But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remedy adversity, in anguish, in tribulation, in our necessities, in our injuries? The way is prayer, we are taught by the commandment of God. 'Call on me 'in the day of tribulation, and I will deliver thee.† Thou widow, thou orphan, thou fatherless child, I speak to thee; thou hast no friends to help thee, call upon me in the day of thy tribulation, call upon me, I will pluck thee away, I will deliver thee, I will take thee away, I will relieve thee, thou shalt have thy heart's desire.

Here is the promise, here is the comfort: 'Thou shalt 'glorify me.' Thank me, accept me for the author of it, and thank not this creature or that for it. Here is the Judge of all Judges; come unto me, and I will hear you. For he saith, 'Whatsoever ye ask my Father in my 'name, shall be given you through my merits.‡ You miserable people, that are wronged in the world, ask of my Father in your distresses; but look ye come not with boasting of your own merit, but come in my name, and by my merit. He hath not the property of this stout judge, he will bear your importunateness, he will not be

* John xiv. 6.

† Ps. l. 15.

‡ John xv. 16.

angry at your crying and calling. The prophet saith, 'Thou God, our fathers did cry unto thee, and thou 'heardest them.'* Art not thou our God as well as theirs? There is nothing more pleasant to God, than to put him in remembrance of his goodness shewed unto our forefathers. It is a pleasant thing to tell God of the benefits that he hath done before our time. Go to Moses, who had the guiding of God's people, see how he used prayer as an instrument to be delivered out of adversity, when he had great rough mountains on every side of him, and before him the Red Sea, Pharaoh's host behind him, peril of death round about him. What did he? Despaired he? No. Whither went he? He repaired to God with his prayer, and said nothing. Yet with a great ardency of spirit, he pierced God's ears. 'Now help, or never, 'good Lord; no help but in thy hands,' quoth he.

Though he might never move his lips, yet the scripture saith he cried out, and the Lord heard him and said, 'Why criest thou out so loud?'† The people heard him say nothing, and yet God said, Why criest thou out? Straitway he struck the water with his rod, and divided it, and it stood like two walls one on either side, between the which God's people passed, and the persecutors were drowned.

Joshua was in anguish and like distress at Jericho, that true captain, and faithful judge; no follower of retributions, no bribe-taker, he was no money-man: he made his petition to Almighty God, to shew him the cause of his wrath toward him, when his army was plagued after the taking of Jericho. So he obtained his prayer, and learned that for one man's fault all the rest were punished. For Achan's covetousness, many a thousand were in agony, and fear of death, who hid his money as he thought from God. But God saw it well enough, and brought it to light. This Achan was a bye-walker. Well, it came to pass when Joshua knew it, straightways he purged his army and took away 'the evil thing out

* Ps. xxii. 4.

† Exod. xiv. 15.

'of Israel;' that is, wickedness from the people. For Joshua called him before the people, and said, 'Give praise to God,'* tell truth, man: and forthwith he told it: and then he and all his house suffered death. A godly ensample of all magistrates to follow. He was the pattern of a true judge, he was no gift-taker, he was no winker, he was no bye-walker. Also when the Assyrians with an innumerable power of men in Jehoshaphat's time overwhelmed the land of Israel, Jehoshaphat, that good King, goeth strait to God, and made his prayer, 'It is not,' saith he, 'in our strength, O Lord, to resist this people.'† And after his prayer God delivered him, and at the same time ten thousand were destroyed. So, ye miserable people, you must go to God in your anguish, and make your prayer to him.

Arm yourselves with prayer in your adversities. Many begin to pray, and suddenly cast away prayer; the devil putteth such fancies in their heads, as though God would not attend to them, or had somewhat else to do.

But you must be importunate, and not weary, nor cast away prayer: nay, you must cast away sin; God will hear your prayer, albeit ye be sinners. I send you to a judge that will be glad to hear you; you that are oppressed, I speak to you. Christ in this parable doth paint God's good-will towards you. O miserable people, he that is not received, let him not despair, nor think that God hath forsaken him! for God tarrieth till he seeth a time, and better can do all things for us, than we ourselves can wish.

'There was a wicked judge,' &c. What meaneth it that God borroweth this parable rather of a wicked judge, than of a good? Belike good judges were rare at that time; and think ye that the devil hath been asleep ever since? No, no; he is as busy as ever he was. The common manner of a wicked judge is, neither to fear God nor man: he considereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man, because of his pride.

* Josh. vii. 19.

† II. Chron. xx. 12.

He looketh high over the poor ; he will be had in admiration ; he seemeth to be in a protection. Well, shall he escape ? No ; There is a God in heaven, he ‘ accepteth no persons,’ he will punish them.* There was a poor woman came to the judge, and said, ‘ Avenge me on mine adversary.’ He would not hear her, but put her off. She had no money to bribe either him or them that were about him. Did this woman well to be avenged on her adversary ? May Christian people seek vengeance ? The Lord saith, ‘ Vengeance belongeth to me, and I will repay it.’† When ye revenge, ye take mine office upon you. This is to be understood of private vengeance. It is lawful for God’s flock to use means to put away wrongs, to resort to judges, to require to have sentence given of right. St. Paul sent to Lyfias the tribune,‡ to have this ordinary remedy : and Christ also said, ‘ If I have spoken evil, rebuke me.§ Christ here answered for himself. Note here, my lords and masters, what case poor widows and orphans be in. I will tell you, my lord judges, if ye consider this matter well, ye shall be more afraid of the poor widow, than of a nobleman with all his friends and power that he can make.

But now-a-days, the judges be afraid to hear a poor man against the rich, insomuch that they will either pronounce against him, or so drive off the poor man’s suit, that he shall not be able to go through with it. The greatest man in a realm cannot so hurt a judge as the poor widow ; such a shrewd turn can she do him. And with what armour, I pray you ? She can bring the judge’s skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him.

And how is that ? ‘ The tears of the poor fall down ‘ from their cheeks, and go up to heaven,’|| and cry for vengeance before God, the judge of widows, the father of widows and orphans. Poor people be oppressed even by laws. Wo worth to them that make evil laws against

* Gal. ii. 6.

† Heb. x. 30.

‡ Acts xxii.

§ Matt. xxvi.

|| Ecclesiasticus xxxv. 15.

the poor : what shall he be to them that hinder and mar good laws ? ' What will ye do in the day of God's vengeance, when God shall visit you ? '* He saith, he will hear the tears of poor women when he goeth on visitation. For their sake he will hurt the judge, be he never so high. God gives kingdoms to whom he pleases. He will for widows sakes change realms, bring them into troubles, and pluck the judges skins over their ears.

Cambyfes was a great king, such another as our master is, he had many lord deputies, lord presidents, and lieutenants under him. It is a great while ago since I read the history. It chanced he had under him in one of his dominions, a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men ; he followed gifts to make his son a great man ; as the old saying is, Happy is the child whose father goes to the devil. The cry of the poor widow came to the Emperor's ear, and caused him to flea the judge alive, and laid his skin in his chair of judgement, that all judges that should give judgement afterward should sit in the same skin. Surely it was a goodly sign, a goodly monument, the sign of the judge's skin. I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England.

Ye will say peradventure, that this is cruelly and uncharitably spoken : no, no ; I do it charitably, for a love I bear to my country. God saith, ' I will visit.' God hath two visitations : the first is, when he revealeth his word by preachers ; and where the first is accepted, the second cometh not. The second visitation is vengeance.

Noah preached God's word a hundred years, and was laughed to scorn, and called an old doting fool : but because they would not accept this first visitation, God visited them the second time ; he poured down showers of rain till all the world was drowned. Lot was a visitor of Sodom and Gomorrah ; but because they regarded not his preaching, God visited them the second time, and burnt them all up with brimstone, saving Lot. Moses came first a visiting into Egypt with God's word, and

* Isa. x. 3.

because they would not hear him, God visited them again, and drowned them in the Red Sea. God likewise in his first visitation visited the Israelites by his prophets; but because they would not hear his prophets, he visited them the second time, and dispersed them into Assyria and Babylon. John Baptist likewise, and our Saviour Christ, visited them afterward, declaring to them God's will; and because they despised these visitors, he destroyed Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian. Germany was visited twenty years with God's word; but they did not earnestly embrace it, nor in life follow it, but made, what they call in my country, a mingle mingle of it; partly popery, partly true religion, mingled together. They could talk and prate of the gospel; but when all came to all, they so joined popery with it, that they marred it altogether: they scratched and scraped all the livings of the church, and under a colour of religion, turned it to their own gain and lucre. God seeing that they would not come by his word, hath now visited them the second time of his visitation, with his wrath: for the taking away God's word is a manifest token of his wrath.

We have now a first visitation here in England, let us beware of the second. We have the ministration of his word; we are yet well: but the house is not clean swept yet. God hath sent us a noble King in this his visitation; let us not provoke him against us; let us beware, let us not displease him, let us not be unthankful and unkind, let us beware of bye-walking and contemning of God's word, let us pray diligently for our King, let us receive the word with all obedience and prayer.

A word or two more, and I commit you to God. I will admonish you of a matter; I hear say ye walk inordinately, ye talk unseemly, otherwise than it becometh good subjects: ye take upon you to judge the judgements of the judges.

I will not make the King a Pope; for the Pope will have all things that he doth taken for an article of our faith.

faith. I will not say that the King and his council may not err; the Parliament houses, both high and low, may err; I pray daily that they may not err.

It becometh us, whatsoever they decree, to stand unto it, and receive it obediently, as far forth as it is not manifestly wicked, and against the word of God. It pertaineth unto us to think the best, though we cannot render a cause for the doing of every thing; for 'Charity doth believe and trust all things.'*

Therefore I exhort you, good people, pronounce in good part all the acts and deeds of the magistrates and judges. 'Charity judgeth the best of all men,' especially of magistrates. Saint Paul saith, 'Judge not before the time of the Lord's coming.'† Man's heart is unsearchable; it is a rugged piece of work, no man knoweth his own heart: and therefore David prayeth, and saith, 'Deliver me from my unknown faults:‡ I am a farther offender than I can see. A man shall be blinded in love of himself, and cannot see so much in himself as in other men. Let us not therefore judge the judges; we are accountable to God, and so be they: let them alone, they have their accounts to make. If we have charity in us, we shall do this; for 'Charity worketh,' what worketh it? marry, to 'accept all things in good part.' 'Judge not before the Lord's coming.' In this we learn to know Antichrist, which doth elevate himself in the church, and judgeth at his pleasure before the time. His canonizations, and judging of men before the Lord's judgement, are a manifest token of Antichrist's doings. How can he know saints? He knoweth not his own heart. And he cannot know them by miracles; for some miracle-workers shall go to the devil.§

I will tell you what I remembered yesternight in my bed; a marvellous tale to perceive how inscrutable a man's heart is. I was once at Oxford, for I had occasion to come that way when I was in my bishoprick; they

* I. Cor. xiii. 7.

† Psalm. xix. 12.

‡ I. Cor. iv. 5.

§ Matt. vii. 22.

told me, it was a nearer way and a fairer way, and that occasioned me to lie there that night. Being there, I heard of an execution that was done upon one that suffered for treason: it was, as you know, a dangerous world, for it might soon cost a man his life for a word speaking. I cannot tell what the matter was, but the judge so set it out that the man was condemned, and twelve men came in and said, Guilty; and upon that he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. When the rope was about his neck, no man could persuade him that he was in any fault; and he stood there a great while in the protestation of his innocency: they hanged him, and cut him down somewhat too soon, before he was quite dead; then they drew him to the fire, and he revived; and coming again to his remembrance, he confessed his fault, and said he was guilty.

O wonderful example! it may well be said, 'A crabbed piece of work, and unsearchable.'

I will leave here, for I think you know what I mean well enough: I shall not need to apply this example any farther. As I began ever with this saying, 'Whatsoever things are written,' &c. so my common place to end, if my memory fail not, is, 'Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.' It must be kept in memory, in living, and in our conversation; and thus if we do, we shall undoubtedly come to that blessedness which God hath prepared for us through his Son Jesus Christ, to which may he in his mercy bring us all. *Amen,*

S E R M O N VIII.

THE UNJUST JUDGE.

*Being the fourth preached before King Edward VI.
March 29, 1549.*

R O M A N S X V . 4 .

*For whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for
our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the
Scriptures might have hope.*

THE parable that I mentioned in my last sermon, most honourable audience, is written in the eighteenth chapter of St. Luke; and there is a certain remnant of it behind yet: the parable is this, There was a certain judge in a city, that feared neither God nor man: and in the same city there was a widow, that required justice at his hands; but he would not hear her, but put her off, and delayed the matter. In process the judge, seeing her importunity, said, 'Though I feared neither God nor man, yet 'for the importunity of the woman I will hear her, lest 'she rail upon me, and molest me with exclamations 'and outcries, I will hear her matter, I will make an end 'of it.'—Our Saviour Christ added more unto this, and said, 'Hear you what the wicked judge saith? And shall 'not God avenge his elect, which cry unto him day and 'night? Although he tarry, and defer them, I say unto 'you, he will avenge them, and that shortly. But when 'the Son of Man shall come, shall he find faith in the 'earth?'

That I may have grace so to open the remnant of this parable, that it may be to the glory of God, and the edifying of your souls, I shall desire you to pray,
Almighty God, &c,

I shewed

I shewed you the last day, most honourable audience, the cause why our Saviour Christ rather used the example of a wicked judge than of a good one : and the cause was, that in those days there was great plenty of wicked judges, so that he might borrow an example among them well enough ; but there was much scarcity of good judges. I did excuse the widow also, for coming to the judge against her adversary, because she did it not of malice, she did it not for appetite of vengeance. Also I told you it was good and lawful for honest virtuous folk, for God's people, to use the laws of the realm, as an ordinary help against their adversaries, and ought to take them as God's holy ordinances, for the remedies of their injuries and wrongs when they are distressed : so that they do it charitably, lovingly, not of malice or revenge, not covetously. I should have told you here of a certain sect of heretics that speak against this order and doctrine ; they will have no magistrates nor judges on the earth.

Here I have to tell you what I heard of late by the relation of a credible person, and a worshipful man of a town in this realm of England, that hath above five heretics of this erroneous opinion in it, as he said.

O so busy the devil is now to hinder and to slander the gospel ! A sure argument, and an evident demonstration, that the light of God's word is abroad, and that this is a true doctrine that we are taught now ; else he would not roar and bestir about as he doth. When he has the upper hand, he will keep his possession quietly, as he did in the popish days, when he bore a rule of supremacy in peaceable possession. If he reigned now in open religion, in open doctrine, as he did then, he would not stir up erroneous opinions, he would have kept up without contention, without dissention. There is no such diversity of opinions among the Turks, nor among the Jews—and why ? for there he reigneth peaceably in the whole religion. Christ saith, ' When the strong armed man keepeth his house,' those that he hath in possession are in quietness, he doth enjoy them peaceably ; ' but when
I a stronger

'a stronger than he cometh upon him,' when the light of God's word is once revealed, then he is busy, then he roars abroad, and stirreth up erroneous opinions to slander God's word. And this is an argument that we have the true doctrine: I beseech God continue us, and keep us in it. The devil knoweth the same, and therefore he roareth thus, and goeth about to stir up these wanton heads and busy brains.

And will you know where this town is? I will not tell you directly; I will put you to muse a little; I will utter the matter by circumlocution. Where is it? where the bishop of the diocese is an unpreaching prelate.* Who is that? If there be but one such in England it is easy to guess: and if there were no more than one, yet it were too many by one; and if there be more, they have the more to answer for, that they suffer in the realm an unpreaching prelate unreformed. I remember well what St. Paul saith to a bishop, and though he spake it to Timothy, being a bishop, yet I may say it now to the magistrates, for it is all one case, all one matter: 'Thou shalt not be partaker of other men's faults. Lay not thy hands rashly upon any;† be not hasty in making of curates, in receiving men to have cure of souls that are not worthy of the office, that either cannot, or will not do their duty. Do it not, 'thou shalt not be partaker of other mens' sins.' Now methinks it needs not that we be partakers of other mens' sins, for we shall find enough of our own. And what is 'to be partaker of other mens' sins,' if this be not, to make unpreaching prelates, and to suffer them to continue still in their unpreaching prelacy?

If the King and his council, should suffer evil judges of this realm to take bribes, to defeat justice, and suffer the great to oppress the poor, and should look through

* He is supposed to mean the diocese of Dr. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, the Lord President. For the Bishop left the care of his flock to others, while he minded only state affairs. It is likely his Lordship was one of Latimer's auditory at this time.

† I. Tim. v. 22.

his fingers, and wink at it, should not the King be partaker of his naughtiness? And why? Is he not supreme head of the church? What! is the supreme a dignity, and nothing else? Is it not accountable? I think it will be a chargeable dignity when account shall be asked of it.

O! what an advantage hath the devil? what entry hath the wolf when the shepherd tendeth not his flock, and leads them not to good pasture? St. Paul saith, 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee.'* It is as much as to say, take the charge and cure of souls. We say, he is set over the flock. He hath taken the charge upon him: and ought to discharge the cure well, to rule well, to feed the flock with pure food, and good example of life. Well then, 'They that discharge their cure well, are worthy of double honour.'† What is this double honour? The first is, to be revered, to be had in estimation and reputation with the people, and to be regarded as good pastors. Another honour is, to have all things necessary for their estate ministered unto them. This is the double honour they ought to have that discharge the cure, if they do it well.

There was a merry monk in Cambridge, in the college that I was in, and it chanced many of us were together intending to make good cheer, and to be merry, as scholars will be merry when they are disposed; one of the company spake this sentence, '*Nil melius quam lætari, & facere bene.*' 'There is nothing better than to be merry, and to do well.' A vengeance of *bene*, [well] says the monk, I would that *bene* were banished beyond the sea: if that *bene* were out, it were well, for I could be merry, and I could do, but I love not to do *well*: that *bene* mars all together, I would *bene* were out, quoth the merry monk, for it importeth many things, to live well, to discharge the cure. Indeed it were better for them that it were out, and it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is; it will be a heavy *bene* to some of them, when they shall come to their account. But, peradventure,

* I. Tim. iv. 14.

† I. Tim. v. 17.

you will say, What if they preach not all? Yet, *presunt*? * are they not worthy double honour? Is it not an honourable order they be in? Nay, an horrible disorder! it is an horror rather than an honour, and horrible rather than honourable, if the preacher be naught and do not his duty. And thus go these prelates about to wrestle for honour, that it may be reported abroad, that we breed heresies against ourselves. It is to be thought that some of them would have it so, to bring in popery again.

This, I fear, is the intent, and it should be blown abroad to our holy father of Rome's ears, and he shall send forth his thunderbolts upon these brutes; and all this comes to pass through their unpreaching prelacy.

Are they not worthy double honour? Nay, rather double dishonour, not to be regarded, nor to be esteemed among the people, and to have no living at their hands? For as good preachers be worthy double honour, so unpreaching prelates be worthy double dishonour. They must be at their doubles. But now these two dishonours, what be they? Our Saviour, Christ, doth shew, 'If the salt be unfavoury, it is good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under feet of men.'† By this salt is understood preachers, and such as have cure of souls. What be they worthy then? Wherefore serve they? For nothing else but to be cast out.

Make them *quondams*, out with them, cast them out of their office; what should they do with cure, that will not look to it? Another dishonour is this, 'To be trodden under mens' feet;' not to be regarded, not to be esteemed: they be at their doubles still. St. Paul in his Epistle qualifyeth a bishop, and saith, that he must be, 'Apt to teach,'‡ and to confute all manner of errors. But what shall a man do with aptness if he do not use it? It were as good for him to be without it.

* They hold their livings, though they do not preach.

† Matt. v. 13.

‡ 1. Tim. iii. 2.

A bishop came to me the last day, and was angry with me for a certain sermon that I made in this place: his chaplain had complained against me, because I had spoken against unpreaching prelates. Nay, quoth the bishop, he made so indifferent a sermon the first day, that I thought he would mar all the second day: he would have every man a *quondam*, as he is. As for my quondamship, * I thank God that he gave me grace to come by it by so honest means as I did; I thank him for my own quondamship: and as for them, I would not have them made *quondams*, if they discharge their office; I would have them do their duty, I would have no more *quondams*; as, God help me, I owe them no more malice than this, and that is none at all.

This bishop thus answered his chaplain: 'Well,' says he, 'Did I wisely to day? for as I was going to his sermon, I remembered that I had neither said mass nor mattins, and homeward I got as fast as I could, and, I thank God, I have said both, and let his unfruitful sermon alone.' Unfruitful! faith one; feditious! faith another. Well, unfruitful is the best; and whether it be unfruitful or no, I cannot tell, it lieth not in me to make it fruitful; and if God work not in your hearts, my preaching can do but little good. I am God's instrument but for a time; it is he that must give the increase, and yet preaching is necessary: for take away preaching, and take away salvation. I told you of the ladder of heaven, and I made it a preaching matter, not a massing matter: Christ is the preacher of preachers, the pattern and example that all preachers ought to follow. For it was he of whom the Father of heaven said, 'This is my beloved son, hear him.'† Even he, when he was on earth, as wisely, as learnedly, as circumspectly, as he preached, yet his seed fell in four parts, so that the fourth part only was fruitful. And if he had no better

* His being out of office, having resigned his bishopric. See the Life, page 23.

† Matt. iii. 17.

success that was the preacher of all preachers, what shall we look for? Yet was there no lack in him, but in the ground: and so now there is no fault in preaching, the fault is in the people, that have stony and thorny hearts; I beseech God to amend them. And as for these folks that speak against me, I never look to have their good words as long as I ever live; yet will I speak of their wickedness, as long as I shall be permitted to speak: as long as I live I will be an enemy to it. No preachers can pass it over with silence; it is the original root of all mischief. As for me, I owe them no other ill will, but I pray God amend them, when it pleaseth him.

Now to the parable. What did the wicked judge in the end of the tale? The love of God moved him not; the law of God was this, and it is written in the first of Deuteronomy, 'Hear them.' These two words will be heavy words to wicked judges another day. But some of them, peradventure, will say, I will hear such as will give bribes, and those that will do me good turns. Nay, ye be hedged out of that liberty. He saith, 'The small as well as the great;' ye must deal justly, minister justice, and that to all men, and you must do it justly, in time convenient, without any delays or driving off; with expedition. Well, I say, neither this law, nor the word and commandment of God moved this wicked judge, nor the misery of this widow, nor the uprightness of her cause, moved him; but, to avoid importunity and clamour, he gave her the hearing, he gave her final sentence, and so she had her request.

This place of judgement, it hath been ever imperfect; it was never seen that all judges did their duty, that they would hear the small as well as the great. I will now prove this by the witness of any private magistrate, but by the wisest King's saying that ever was: 'I have seen, saith Solomon, 'under the sun,' that is to say, over all in every place, where right judgement should have been, 'wickedness;' as who would say, bribe-taking, defeating of justice, oppressing the poor; men sent away with weeping eyes, without hearing of their causes; and 'in the

'place

place of equity,' saith he, 'I have seen iniquity.'* No equity, no justice! a fore word for Solomon to pronounce universally, generally. And if Solomon said it, there is a matter in it, I suppose he said it not only for his own time, but he saw it both in them that went before him, and in them also that should come after him. Now cometh Isaiah, and he affirmeth the same. He speaketh of the judgements done in his time in the common place, as it might be in Westminster-hall, the Guild-hall, the Judges-hall, the Pretor-house, call it what ye will, in the open place. For judges at that time, according to the manner, sat in the gates of the city, in the highway. A good and godly order, to fit so that the poor people might easily come to them. But what saith Isaiah, that seditious fellow! * He saith of his country thus, 'In the place of justice, impiety; and in the place of equity, iniquity. I looked the judges should do their duty; and I saw them work iniquity:† There were bribes walking, money-making, quoth the prophet, or rather Almighty God, speaking by the mouth of the prophet, such is their partiality, affection, and bribes. They be such money-makers, § enhancers, and promoters of themselves. Isaiah knew this by the crying of the people, 'Behold the crying of my people,' saith he. And though some of them were unreasonable people, as many be now-a-days, yet doubtless some cried not without a cause. And why? Their matters are not heard, they are fain to go home with weeping tears, that fall down their cheeks and ascend up to heaven, and cry for vengeance. Let judges look about them, for 'God will surely avenge his elect one day.'

And surely, methinks, if a judge would follow but a worldly reason, and weigh the matter properly, without these examples of scripture, he would fear more the hurt

* Eccles. iii. 16.

† See page p. 32.

‡ Isa. x. 7.

§ Lord Paget had schemed, that twenty thousand pounds weight of bullion should be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby one hundred and forty thousand pounds,

that may be done by a poor widow, or miserable man, than by the greatest gentleman of them all. God hath pulled the judges skins over their ears for the poor widow's sake. Yea, the poor widow may do him more hurt with her poor pater-noster in her mouth, than with any other weapon; and with two or three words she shall bring him down to the ground, and destroy his jollity, and cause him to lose more in one day, than he got in seven years. For God will revenge these miserable folks that cannot help themselves. He saith, 'In the day of visitation I will avenge them: shall not my soul be avenged?*' And who should say, I must needs take their part: yes, though I tarry, and though I seem to linger never so long, yet I will come at the length, and that shortly. And if God spake this, he will perform his promise. He hath, for their sakes, as I told you, pulled the skin over the judge's ears ere this: King David trusted some in his old age that did him not very good service. Now if, among the people of God, there were some folks fell to bribing, then what was there among the heathen? Absalom, David's son, was a bye-walker, and made disturbance among the people in his father's time; and though he were a wicked man, and a bye-walker, yet some there were in that time that were good, and walked uprightly. I speak not this against the judges' seat; I speak not as though all judges were naught, and as though I did not hold with judges, magistrates, and officers, as divers heretics do; but I judge them honourable, necessary, and God's ordinance. I speak it as the scripture speaketh, to give warning to all magistrates, to cause them to look to their offices: for the devil, that great magistrate, is very busy now, he is ever doing, he never ceaseth to go about to make them like himself. The proverb is, 'Like would have like.' If the judge be good and upright, he will try to deceive him, either by the subtle suggestion of crafty lawyers, or by false witness, and subtle uttering of a wrong matter. He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men

* Jer. v. 9.

law, to make them fall to bribery, to lay burdens on poor mens' backs, and to make them fall to perjury, and to bring into the place of judgement, all corruption, iniquity, and impiety.

I have spoken thus much, to occasion all judges and magistrates to look to their offices: they had need to look about them. This cause moved St. Chrysostom to speak this sentence; 'I marvel,' said this doctor, 'if any of these rulers or great masters can be saved!' he spake it not for the impossibility of the thing, (God forbid that all the magistrates and judges should be condemned) but for the difficulty.

O that a man might have the contemplation of hell, that the devil would allow a man to look into hell, to see the estate of it, as he shewed all the world when he tempted Christ in the wilderness; 'He shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and all their glory, and told him that he would give him all, if he would kneel down and worship him,'* But he lied like a false varlet, he could not give them, he was not able to give so much as a goose wing, for they were none of his to give: Our Saviour, that he promised them unto, had far more right to them than he. But I say, if one were admitted to view hell thus, and beholding it thoroughly, the devil should say; On yonder side are punished unpreaching prelates, I think a man should see as far as a kenning,† and perceive nothing but unpreaching prelates; he might look as far as Calais, I warrant you. And then, if he would go on the other side, and shew him where bribing judges were, I think he should see so many, that there were scarce room for any other. Our Lord God amend it!

Well, to our matter: This judge I speak of, said; 'Though I fear neither God, nor man,' &c. And did he think thus? Is it the manner of wicked judges to confess their faults? Nay, he thought not so. If a man

* Matt. iv. 8, 9.

† As far as his sight could extend,

had come to him, and called him wicked, he would forthwith have commanded him to ward, he would have defended himself stoutly. It was God that spake in his conscience, God made him to utter such things as he saw in his heart, and were hid to himself. And there be like things in the Scripture, as, 'The unwise man said in his heart, 'There is no God :'* and yet, if he should have been asked the question, he would have denied it.

Isaiah the prophet saith also : 'We are defended with lies ; we have put our trust in lies.'† It was not for nought that Jeremiah described man's heart in its colour : 'The heart of man is naughty, and crooked, and a froward piece of work.'‡ Let every man humble himself, and acknowledge his fault, as St. Paul did, when the people to whom he had preached had said many things in his commendation, yet he durst not justify himself : Paul would not praise himself, to his own justification, and therefore, when they had spoken those things by him, 'I pass not at all,' saith he, 'what ye say by me,'§ I will not stand to your report : and yet he was not so froward, that when he had heard the truth reported of him, he would say it was false ; but he said, I will neither stand to your report, though it be just, neither will I say it is untrue. He was a good shepherd, and one of them that discharged his cure, and yet he thought that there might be more in himself than he thought in himself ; and therefore he said, 'The Lord shall judge me.' I will stand only to the judgement of the Lord. For look, whom he judgeth to be good, he is sure, he is safe, he is happy. I spake of this matter the last day, and of some I had little thanks for my labour. I heard some folks were grieved with me, because I spake against rash judgement. What hath he to do with judgement ? (say they.) I went about to keep you from arrogant judgement.

This is no good argument, my friends : a man seemeth not to fear death, therefore his cause is good. This is a

* Ps. xiv. 1.

† Jer. xvii. 9.

‡ Is. xxxviii. 15.

§ 1. Cor. iv. 3, 4.

deceivable argument : he went to his death boldly, therefore he standeth in a just and honest quarrel.

The Anabaptists* that were burnt here in many towns in England, as I heard of credible men, I saw them not myself, went to their death, as we may say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully. Well, let them go. There were in the old doctors' times another kind of poisoned heretics, that were called Donatists;† and these heretics went to their execution, as though they should have gone to some jolly recreation or banquet, or to a play. And will you argue then, He goeth to his death boldly and cheerfully, therefore he dieth in a just cause? Nay, that sequel followeth no more than this : a man seems to be afraid of death, therefore he dieth evil. And yet our Saviour Christ was afraid of death himself. I warn you therefore, and charge you, not to judge them that be in authority, but to pray for them.

It becometh us not to judge great magistrates, nor to condemn their doings, unless their deeds be openly and apparently wicked. Charity requireth the same ; for charity judgeth no man, but thinketh well of every one. And thus we may try whether we have charity or no ; and if we have not charity, we are not God's disciples, for they are known by that badge. He that is his disciple, hath the work of charity in his breast. If there be

* The Anabaptists were a sect that arose in Germany soon after Luther began the reformation. Among a variety of strange and blasphemous opinions they denied the rights of magistracy, and of private property : but the Baptists (or Anabaptists) of the present day are to be carefully distinguished from these ; as agreeing with them and differing from other dissenters, only in the article of Baptism ; baptizing none but adults, and them always by immersion.

† The Donatists were a sect of the fourth century which held the doctrine of sinless perfection, denied the supreme divinity of the Son and Spirit, and maintained other erroneous opinions. It has been urged by the enemies of Christianity, that antient and modern heretics met with the same severities from the orthodox Christians of former centuries, and the Protestants of latter times, as these received from the others when in power. The fact is too true ; but proves nothing but the miserable depravity of human nature : ' Lord, what is man ! '

charity,

charity, it ' believeth all things, hopeth all things ;* to say the best of magistrates, and not to defend a wicked matter.

I will go farther with you ; I have visited in the Tower myself, by the King's commandment and the council, Sir Robert Constable, the Lord Hussy, and the Lord Darcy ;† and the Lord Darcy was telling me of the faithful service that he had done the King's Majesty that is dead : ' If I had seen my Sovereign Lord in the field,' said he, ' and seeing his Grace coming against us, I ' would have lighted from my horse, and taken my sword ' by the point, and yielded it into his Grace's hands.' Marry, quoth I, but in the mean season ye act not the part of a faithful subject, in holding with the people in a commotion and disturbance. It hath been the cast of all traitors to pretend nothing against the King's person ; they never pretend the matter to the King, but to others. Subjects may not resist any magistrates, nor ought to do any thing contrary to the laws ; and therefore these words, the King, and so forth, are of small effect.

I heard once a tale of a thing that was done at Oxford twenty years ago (and the like hath been since in this realm, as I am informed by creditable persons), and some of them that saw it be alive yet. There was a priest that was robbed of a great sum of money, and there were two or three attached for the said robbery, and, to be brief, were condemned, and brought to the place of execution. The first man, when he was upon the ladder, denied the matter utterly, taking his death upon it, that he never consented to the robbery of the priest, nor ever knew of it. When he was dead, the second fellow cometh, and maketh his protestation, and acknowledged the fault ; saying, that among other grievous offences that he had done, he was accessory to this robbery ; and, quoth he, ' I had my part of it, I cry ' God's mercy for it ; so had this fellow that died before ' me his part.' Now who can judge whether this fellow

* I. Cor. xiii. 7.

† See Note, pag. 40.

judged well or no? Who can judge a man's heart? The one denied the matter, the other confessed it: there is no judging of such matters.

When I was with the Bishop of Chichester in ward,* I was not so with him but my friends might come to me, and talk with me; I was desirous to hear of an execution done, as there was every week some, in one place of the city or other, for there were three weeks sessions at Newgate,† and fortnight sessions at the Marshalsea, and so forth: I was desirous, I say, to hear of an execution, because I looked that my part should have been therein; I expected every day to have been called to it myself. And among all other, I heard of a wanton, naughty, and vain woman, a whore, who being led from Newgate to the place of execution for a robbery that she had done, had wicked conversation by the way: wherefore I beseech your Grace, that such people as shall be put to death may have learned men to give them instruction. For the reverence of God, when they be put to execution, let them have instructors; for many of them are cast away for lack of instruction, and die in misery for lack of good preaching. This woman, I say, as she went by the way, had wanton and foolish talk, as this, that if good fellows had kept touch with her, she had not been at this time in that case. Christ saith, 'Remember Lot's wife.'‡ She was a woman that would not be content with her good estate, but wrestled with God's calling, and she was for that cause turned into a salt pillar; and therefore the scripture doth name her as an example for us to take heed by. Ye know also how that God Almighty spared not a number of his angels, which had sinned against him, to make them examples to us to beware by. He drowned the whole world in the time of Noah, and destroyed for sin the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. And

* See the life, p. 24.

† The Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, &c. for the city of London and County of Middlesex, was at this time held in the prison of Newgate, and not in the Old Bailey.

‡ Luke xvii. 32.

why? 'He made them an example to them that would 'do wickedly in time to come.'* If God would not spare them, think ye he will favour us?

I will go on a word or two in the application of the parable, and then I will make an end. To what end and what purpose brought Christ this parable of the wicked judge? The end is, that we should be continually in prayer. Prayer is never interrupted but by wickedness. We must therefore walk orderly, and uprightly, calling upon God in all our troubles and adversities; and for this purpose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the scripture, than is here in the wrapping up of the matter: therefore I will open it unto you. You miserable people, if there be any here among you, that are oppressed by great men, and can get no help, I speak for your comfort; I will open unto you whither ye shall resort, when ye be in any distress. His good will is ready, always at hand, whensoever we shall call for it; and therefore he calls us to himself. We shall not doubt if we come to him. Mark what he saith, to cause us to believe that our prayers shall be heard: he reasons after this fashion; 'Will not God,' saith he, 'avenge his elect, and hear them;' seeing the wicked judge heard the widow? He seemeth to go plainly to work, he willeth us to pray to God, and to none but God. We have a manner of reasoning in the schools, and it is called, *à minore ad majus*: 'From the less to the more,' and that may be used here. The judge was a tyrant, a wicked man; God is a patron and defender, a father unto us. If the judge, then, being a tyrant, would hear the poor widow, much more God will hear us in all distresses, he being a father unto us; he will hear us sooner than the other, being no father, having no fatherly affection. Moreover, God is naturally merciful. The judge was cruel, and yet he helped the widow; much more then God will help us at our need. He saith of the oppressed, 'I am with him in his trouble:† his tribulation is mine; I am touched

* II, Pet. ii. 6.

† Ps. xci. 15.

with his trouble. If the judge, then, being a cruel man, heard the widow; much more will God bless us, being touched with our affliction.

Furthermore, this judge gave the widow no commandment to come unto him: we have a commandment to resort to God; for he saith, 'Call upon me in the day of thy tribulations.'* Which is as much a commandment as, 'Thou shalt not steal.' He that spake the one, spake the other; and whosoever he be that is in trouble, and calleth not upon God, breaketh his commandment. Take heed, therefore, the judge did not promise the widow help; God promises us help, and will he not perform it? He will, he will. The judge, I say, did not promise the widow help; God will give us both hearing and helping: he hath promised it us with a double oath, 'Verily, verily,' saith he; he doubles it, 'whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, ye shall have it.'† And though he puts off a sinner for a time, and suffers him to bite on the bridle to prove him, (for there be many beginners, but few continuers in prayer;) yet we may not think he hath forgotten us, and will not help us. When the help is most needful, 'then he will come, and not tarry.‡ He knoweth when it shall be best for us to have help: though he tarry, he will come at last.

I will trouble you but half a quarter of an hour in the application of the parable, and so I will commit you to God.

What should it mean, that God would have us so diligent and earnest in prayer? Hath he such pleasure in our works? Many talk of prayer, and make it a lip labour. Praying is not babbling; nor is it monkery. It is, to miserable folk that are oppressed, a comfort, solace, and remedy. But what maketh our prayer to be acceptable to God? It lieth not in our power; we must have it by another mean. Remember what God said of his Son: 'This is my dear Son, in whom I delight.'§

* Ps. l. 15.

† Heb. x. 37.

‡ John xvi. 23.

§ Matt. iii. 17.

He hath pleasure in nothing but in him. How cometh it to pass that our prayers please God? Our prayers please God, because Christ pleases God. When we pray, we come unto him in the confidence of Christ's merits; and thus offering up our prayers, they shall be heard for Christ's sake: yea, Christ will offer them up for us, that offered up once his sacrifice to God, which was acceptable. And he that cometh with any other mean than this, God knoweth him not.

This is not the missal sacrifice, the popish sacrifice, to stand at the altar, and offer up Christ again. Out upon it that it ever was used! I will not say nay, but that ye shall find in the old doctors the word *sacrificium*, but there is one general solution for all the doctors that St. Augustine sheweth us: the sign of a thing hath oftentimes the name of the thing that it signifies. As the supper of the Lord is the sacrament of another thing, it is a commemoration of his death, who suffered once for us; and because it is a sign of Christ's offering up, therefore it beareth the name thereof. And this sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man; yea, a poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up this sacrifice as the bishop in his pontificals, with his mitre on his head, his rings on his fingers, and his sandals on his feet. And whosoever cometh asking the Father's remedy in his necessity, for Christ's sake, he offers up as acceptable a sacrifice as any bishop can do.

And so to make an end. This must be done with a constant faith, and a sure confidence in Christ. Faith—faith—faith! We are undone for lack of faith. Christ nameth faith here. Faith is all together. 'When the Son of Man shall come, shall he find faith on the earth?' Why speaketh he so much of faith? Because it is hard to find true faith. He speaketh not of a false faith, a faith set up for a time; but a constant, a permanent, a durable faith, as durable as God's word.

He came many times: First in the time of Noah when he preached, but he found little faith. He came also when Lot preached, when he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah,

morrah, but he found no faith. And to be short, he shall come at the latter day, when he shall find little faith. And I think the day is not far off. When he was here bodily, did he find any faith? Many speak of faith, but few there be that have it. Christ mourneth the lack of it. He complains, that when he came, he found no faith.

This Faith is a great Lady, and she hath ever a great company and train about her, as a noble estate ought to have. First, she has a Gentleman-usher who goes before her: this Gentleman-usher is called Knowledge of Sin; when we enter into our heart, and acknowledge our faults, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these winchers, he kicks not when he hears his fault. Now as the Gentleman-usher goes before her, so she has a train that comes behind her; and yet, though they come behind, they be all of Faith's company, they are all with her. As Christ, in going to Jerusalem, some went before him, and some after, yet all were of his company. So all these wait upon Faith; she hath a great train after her, besides her Gentleman-usher, her whole household; and these be the works of our vocation, when every man considereth what vocation he is in, what calling he is in, and doth the works of the same; as, to be good to his neighbour, to obey God, &c. This is the train that followeth Lady Faith: as for example; a faithful judge hath first an heavy reckoning for his fault, repenteth himself of his wickedness, and then forsakes his iniquity and impiety, fearing no man, walking uprightly. And he that doth not thus, has not Lady Faith, but rather a boldness of sin, and abusing of Christ's passion. Lady Faith is never without her Gentleman-usher, nor without her train; she is no Anchoretess,* she dwells not alone. And yet many there be that boast themselves that they have faith, and that when Christ shall come they shall do well enough. Nay, nay, those that be faithful shall

* Or Anachoretess, a woman who lives a recluse life under a religious vow; a kind of nun.

be very few, 'Many there be that run,' saith St. Paul, 'but there is but one that receiveth the reward.'*

It shall be with the multitude, when Christ shall come, as it was in the time of Noah, and as it was in the time of Lot. In the time of Noah, 'they were eating and drinking, building and planting, and suddenly the water came upon them, and drowned them.'† In the time of Lot also, they were eating and drinking, &c. and suddenly the fire came upon them, and devoured them.— And now we are eating and drinking. There was never such building then as now, planting, nor marrying. And thus it shall be, even when Christ shall come to judgement.

Is eating, and drinking, and marrying, reprov'd in scripture? Is it not? Nay, he reprov'd not all kinds of eating and drinking, he must be otherwise understood. If the scripture be not truly expounded, what is more erroneous? and though there be complainings of some eating and drinking in scripture, yet he speaketh not as though all were naught. They may be well ordered, they are God's allowance. But to eat and drink as they did in Noah's time, and as they did in Lot's time; this eating, and drinking, and marrying, is spoken against. To eat and drink in the forgetfulness of God's commandments, voluptuously, in excess and gluttony, this kind of eating and drinking is naught; when it is not done moderately, soberly, and with all circumspection; and likewise to marry only for fleshly lust, and for their own fancy.

There never was before such marrying in England as is now. I hear tell of stealing wards to marry their children to. This is a strange kind of stealing; but it is not the ward, it is the land that they steal. And some there be that knit up marriages together, not for any love or godliness in the parties, but to get friendship, and make them strong in the realm, to increase their possessions, and to join land to land. And others there be that inveigle mens' daughters in the contempt of their fathers, and

* I. Cor. ix. 24.

† Matt. xxiv. 38, 39.

go about to marry them without their consent : this marrying is ungodly. And many parents constrain their sons and daughters to marry where they love not, and some are beaten and compelled. And they that marry thus, marry in forgetfulness and disregard of God's commandments.

But as in the time of Noah sudden destruction came upon them ; so shall it be with us in the latter day, when Christ shall come. We have as little conscience as may be ; and when he shall come, we shall lack Lady Faith. Well for them that shall be of that little flock, that shall be set on the right hand ! *

I have troubled you long, partly being out of my matter, partly being in ; but now I will make an end. I began with this text, ' Whatsoever things are written,' &c. so will I end now for my own ease, as an old truant, with this sentence ; ' Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.' I told you in the beginning of this parable of *bene : Nil melius quàm lætari & facere.*† If I had ceased there, all had been well, quoth the merry monk ; so, ' Blessed are they that hear the word of God ;' but what followeth ? ' and keep it.' Our blessedness cometh of the keeping. It hangs all on the end of the tale, in crediting and assenting to the word, and following of it. And thus we shall begin our blessedness here, and at length we shall come to the blessing that never shall have an end ; which God grant both you and me, Amen.

* Matt. xxv. 33.

† See above, p. 149.

S E R M O N IX.

THE LAWFULNESS OF KINGS.

Being the fifth preached before King Edward VI.

April 6, 1549.

ROMANS XV. 4.

For whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.

WHAT doctrine is written for us in the parable of the judge and the widow, I have opened it to you, most honourable audience; something as concerning the judge, I would wish and pray that it might be a little better kept in memory, that in the seat of justice no more iniquity and unrighteousness might reign. Better a little well kept, than a great deal forgotten. I would the judges would take forth this lesson, that there might be no more iniquity used, nor bribe-taking; for if there shall be bribe-taking, they know the peril of it, they know what shall follow. I would also they should take example of this judge, that did say, not what he thought himself, but our Saviour Christ puts him to say the thing that was hid unto himself. Wherefore I would ye should keep in memory, how unsearchable a man's heart is: I would ye should remember the fall of the Angels, and beware thereby; the fall of Lot's wife, and beware thereby.

I would not that miserable folk should forget the argument of the wicked judge, to induce them to prayer; which argument is this: If the judge, being a tyrant, a cruel man, a wicked man, which did not call the widow to him, made her no promise, neither in hearing

or helping of her cause, yet in the end of the matter, for the importunity's sake, did help her; much more Almighty God, who is a Father, and beareth a fatherly affection, as the father doth to the child, and is naturally merciful, and calleth us to him, with promise that he will hear them that call upon him, that be in distress, and burdened with adversity. Remember this. You know where to have your remedy. You by your prayer can work great efficacy, and your prayer with tears is an instrument of great efficacy: it can bring many things to pass.

But what thing is that which maketh our prayers acceptable to God? Is it our babbling? No, no; it is not our babbling, nor our long prayers; there is another thing than that. The dignity and worthiness of our words is of no such virtue. For whosoever resorteth unto God, not trusting in the confidence of his own merits, but in trust of the deserving of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in his passion; whosoever doth invoke the Father of Heaven, in the trust of Christ's merits, which offering is the most comfortable and acceptable offering to the Father; whosoever, I say, thus offereth up Christ, which is a perfect offering, he cannot be denied the thing he desired, if it be expedient for him to have it. It is not the babbling of our lips, nor the dignity of our words, but the prayer of the heart, is the offering that pleases, through the only means of his Son. For our prayer profiteth us, because we offer Christ to his Father.

Whosoever resorteth to God without Christ, he resorts in vain. Our prayers please God because of Jesus Christ. So that it is faith; faith, is the matter. It is no prayer that is without faith; it is but a lip-labour and mockery; it is but a little babbling, without faith.

I spake also of lack of faith; and upon that also I said, The end of the world is near at hand: for there is lack of faith now. Also the defection is come, and swerving from the faith. Antichrist, the man of sin, the son of iniquity, is revealed; the latter days are at hand. Let us not think his coming is far off. But whensoever he

cometh, he shall find iniquity enough, let him come when he will.

What is now behind? We be eating and drinking, as they were in Noah's time; and marrying, I think as wickedly as ever then was. We be building, purchasing, planting, in the contempt of God's word. He may come shortly, when he will, for there is so much mischief, and swerving from the faith reigning now in our days, as never was in any age. It is a good warning to us all, to make ready against his coming.

This little rehearſal I have made of the things I ſpoke in my laſt ſermon: I will now for this day return to my queſtion, and reſolve it, Whether God's people may be governed by a governor that bears the name of a King, or no? The Jews had a law, that when they ſhould have a King, they ſhould have him according to the election of God: he would not leave the election of a King to their own fancy.* There be ſome buſy brains, wanton wits, that ſay, the name of a King is an odious name, and wreſt this text of the ſcripture; where God ſeemed to be angry and diſpleaſed with the Iſraelites for aſking a King, expounding it very evil and odiouſly; as who ſhould ſay, a King were an odious thing. I coming riding in my way, and calling to remembrance wherefore I was ſent, that I muſt preach, and preach before the King's Maſteſty: I thought it meet to frame my preaching according to a King. Muſing of this, I remembered a book that came from Cardinal Pole, which he ſent to the King: I never remember that man, methinks, but with a heavy heart: a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble houſe, and in favour; that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himſelf to the King's proceedings, I heard ſay, and I believe it verily, that he had been Archbiſhop of York at this day. To conclude, he would have done much good in that part of the realm, for thoſe quarters have always had great need of learned men, and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much la-

* See page 94.

mented, that such a man should take such a way. I hear say, he readeth much of St. Jerom's works, and is well seen in them; but I would he would follow St. Jerom, where he expounded this place of scripture: 'Come out from her, my people.'* Almighty God saith: Get you from it, get you from Rome; get you from the purple whore of Babylon. It had been more commendable to go from it, than to come to it. What his sayings be in his book, I do not well remember, it is in the farthest end of my memory; yet generally I remember the scope of it. He goeth about to dissuade the King from his supremacy. In his persuasions he is very homely, very quick, and sharp with the King, as those cardinals will take upon them. He saith, that a King is an odious word, and toucheth the place how God was offended with the Israelites for calling for a King. Very lightly he seemeth to set forth the title of a King. As though he should mean: What? a King? what should a King take upon him to redress matters of religion? It pertaineth to our holy father of Rome. A King, is a name; and a title rather suffered of God as an evil thing, than allowed as a good thing. Calling this to remembrance, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Now I will answer to this. For the answer I must somewhat open the eighth chapter of the First Book of Samuel, and that I may have grace so to do let us pray, &c.

To come to the opening of this matter. I must begin with the chapter; that the unlearned, although I am sure, there be a great many well learned, may the better come to the understanding of the matter. 'It came to pass when Samuel was stricken in age, he made his sons judges over Israel.' Of Samuel, I might fetch a compass far off, of the story of Elkanah, who was his father, and who was his mother; Elkanah his father had two wives, Hannah and Pheninnah, and did not put them away as men do now-a-days. There was debate between

* Rev. xviii. 4.

these two wives. Pheninnah upbraided Hannah, because she was barren and not fruitful.

I might take here occasion to intreat of the duty between man and wife, which is a holy religion, but not religiously kept; but I will not enter into the matter at this time. Well, in process of time God made Hannah fruitful through her devout prayer: she brought forth Samuel, who, by the ordinance of God was made high priest: father Samuel, a good man, a singular example, and few such men as father Samuel was. To be short, he was now come to age, he was an old man, an infirm man, not able to go from place to place to minister justice; he chose two suffragans, two coadjutors, two cohelpers; and he made them to help him to discharge his office; he chose his two sons rather than others, because he knew them to be well brought up in virtue and learning. It was not for any careful affection, he cared not for renown, but he appointed them for the ease of the people, the one to supply his place in Beersheba, and the other in Bethlehem. As now in England, for the good of the realm, we have two Lord Presidents. Surely it is a goodly order. I would there were a third in another place, for the ease of the people. Good father Samuel, then, to discharge his office in places where he could not come himself, sent his two sons as his suffragans and coadjutors. Here I might take occasion to treat, what old and impotent bishops should do, what old preachers should do, when they come to infirmity, to join with them preachers (not bell-hallowers) and to impart of their living to them. I might have dilated this matter at large, but I am honestly prevented of this common place, and I am very glad of it. It was very well handled the last Sunday. They that will not for the office sake receive other, regard more the fleece than the flock. Father Samuel regarded not his revenues. Our Lord give them grace to be affected as he was, and to follow him!

Amen.

Though

Though I say that I would wish more Lord Presidents, I mean not, that I would have Prelates, or Lord Bishops, to be Lord Presidents.

As touching that, I said my mind and conscience the last year. And although it is said, *præsumt*,* it is not meant that they should be Lord Presidents: the office of a presidentship is a civil office, and it cannot be, that one man shall discharge both well. It followeth in the text, 'His sons walked not in his ways.' Here is the matter, here you see the goodness of Samuel, how, when he was not able to take the pains himself, for their own ease, he appointed them judges near unto them, as it were in the farthest parts of the realm, to have justice rightly administered. But what followed? Though Samuel was good, and his children well brought up, look what the world can do. Ah, crafty world! Whom shall not this world corrupt, and deceive at one time or other? Samuel thought his sons should have proved well, but yet Samuel's sons walked not in his ways. Why? What then? Is the son always bound to walk in his father's way? No, ye must not take it for a general rule: all sons are not to be blamed for not walking in their fathers way. Hezekiah did not follow the steps of his father Ahaz, and was well allowed in it. Josiah, the best King that ever was in Jewry, reformed his father's ways, who walked in worldly policy. In his youth he took away all idolatry, and purged his realm of it, and set a good order in all his dominions, and wrestled with idolatry. And although his father, and his grandfather Manasses, it makes no better whether, repented him in the end, he had no time to reform things, he left it to his son to be done. Josiah began, and made an alteration in his childhood, he turned all upsidedown, he would suffer no idolatry to stand. Therefore you must not take it for a general rule, that the son must ever walk in the father's ways. Here I will renew that which I said before of the stiff-necked Jews, the rebellious people, that

* See page 150.

is their title; they never spake so rebelliously, as to say they would not receive any alteration, till their King came to age: much more we Englishmen, if there be any such in England, may be ashamed. I wonder with what conscience folk can hear such things, and allow it.

This Josiah made a notable alteration, and therefore take it not for a general rule, that the son shall always walk in his father's ways.* Think not, because he was slain in battle, that God was displeased with him, for herein God shewed his goodness to him wonderfully, who would not suffer him to see the captivity that he would bring upon the Israelites. He would not have him to have the feeling, or the beholding of his plague; he suffered him to be taken away before, and to be slain of the King of Egypt. Wherefore, a just man must be glad when he is 'taken from misery to come.'* He must think that he is one of those whom the world is not worthy to have; it came of a singular goodness of God, that he was by death delivered from the sight of the captivity. Therefore take it not for a general rule, that the sons be always bound to walk in the father's ways: 'Walk not in the commandments of your father;' † for so it is said in another place of scripture.

It is spoken to the reproach of Samuel's sons, that they walked not in his way, for he was a good man. A wonderful thing that these children being so well brought up, should so fall and be corrupt. If the devil can prevail, and hath power against them that had so godly education, what advantage hath he of them that be brought up in iniquity and covetousness? It is a proverb, 'that office and authority sheweth what a man is.' A man knows not himself till he be tried. Many there be, that being without office, can rebuke magistrates, and find fault with them that be in office and pre-eminence; after, when it cometh to their chance to come to office themselves, then they have taken out a new lesson: 'When I was a child I favoured as a child.' ‡ They will not do

* Isa. lvii. 1.

† Ezek. xx. 18.

‡ I. Cor. xiii. 11.

men as other men do ; they are come to have experience, to be practitioners. The maid's child is ever best taught ; but he that standeth upright in office, he is the man. Samuel would never have thought that his sons should have been so corrupted. It is a perilous thing, a dangerous state, to be a judge.

They felt the relish of this world, a perilous thing : and therefore Chrysostom saith, 'I marvel, that any ruler can be saved.' If the peril were well considered, men would not be so desirous as they be : the world hath many subtle flights, it is a crafty thing, and very deceitful, a corrupter ; and who is it whom the world doth not corrupt and blind at one time or other ? What was the way they walked ? They stooped after gains, they turned aside after lucre. What followed ? They took rewards ; bribes, I should call them, for that is their right name. They turned justice upsidedown : either they would give wrong judgement, or else put off and delay poor mens' matters. These were their ways. This is the ladder of hell !

I told you before of the ladder of heaven ; * I would you should not forget it : the steps whereof are set forth in the tenth of the Romans. The first is preaching, then hearing, then believing, and last of all salvation. The ladder of heaven is a preaching matter, I tell you, and not a massing matter. God's instrument of salvation is preaching. Here I move you, my Lords, not to be greedy and outrageous in enhancing and raising of your rents, to the diminishing of the office of salvation. It would pity a man's heart to hear what I hear of the state of Cambridge ; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges, for their livings be so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go every where to seek livings ; and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity. Alas ! what is that ? It will come to pass that we shall

* See page 117.

have nothing but a little English divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness, and utter decay of learning. It is not that, I devise, that will keep out the supremacy of the Pope of Rome.

Here I will make a supplication, that ye would bestow so much to the finding of scholars, of poor mens' sons, to exercise the office of salvation, in relieving of scholars, as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage matters, in trentals,* in masses, in pardons, in purgatory matters: ye bestowed that liberally, bountifully, but it was not well spent: you had 'a zeal, but not according to knowledge.' You may be sure, if you bestow your goods on this wise, you shall bestow them well, to support and uphold God's word, wherein you shall please God. I ask no more, but that ye bestow so much godly, as ye were wont to bestow ungodlily. It is a reasonable petition, for God's sake look upon it, I say no more. There be none now but great mens' sons in colleges, and their fathers look not to have them preachers, so every way this office of preaching is pinched at. I will speak no more of the ladder of heaven. But I am sure this is the right way to hell, to be covetous, to take bribes, and pervert justice. If a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would shew him this way: First, let him be a covetous man, let his heart be poisoned with covetousness; then let him go a little further and take bribes, and at last pervert judgement. Lo, here is the mother and the daughter, and the daughter's daughter; Avarice is the mother, she brings forth bribe-taking; and bribe-taking, perverting of judgement. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess, which, so God help me, if I were judge, should be *hangum tuum*, a Tyburn tippet to take with him, if it were the Judge of the King's Bench, my Lord Chief Judge of England: yea, if it were my Lord Chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him. There was within these thirty years a certain widow which suddenly was attached, had to prison, in-

* Or Trentals: Popish offices for the dead, which continued thirty days; or, as others, consisted of thirty masses each.

dicted, condemned, and there were certain learned men that visited her in prison. O, I would ye would resort to prisons! a commendable thing in a Christian realm: I would wish that there were curates for prisons, that we might say, the curate of Newgate,* the curate of the Fleet; and I would have them paid for their labour. It is a blessed work to visit the prisoners, for they be kept from sermons. There was that resorted to this woman, who when she came to prison, was all on her beads, and nothing else, a popish woman, and favoured not of Jesus Christ. In process she was so applied, that she tasted that the Lord was sweet; she had such a favour, such a sweetness and feeling, that she thought it long to the day of execution. She was with Christ already, as touching faith; she had such a desire, that she said with St. Paul, 'I desire to be rid, and to be with Christ;'+ the word of God had so wrought in her. When she was brought to punishment, she was desired to confess her fault; she took of her death, that she was guiltless in that thing she suffered for, and her neighbours would have borne her witness in the same. She was always an honest, civil woman; her neighbours would have gone on her purgation a great way. They would needs have her confess; then, said she, 'I am not guilty, would you have me to make myself guilty where I am not?' Yet for all this she was a trespasser, she had done a great offence.— But before I go forward with this, I must tell you another tale. I heard a great while ago, a tale of one; I saw the man that told me not long ago in this auditory, he hath travelled in more countries than one: He told me, that there was once a pretor (or lord mayor) of Rome, a rich man, one of the richest merchants in all the city, and suddenly he was cast into the castle of St. Angelo. It was heard of, and every man whispered in one another's ear, what hath he done? Hath he killed

* At this time, there was neither an ordinary of Newgate, nor chaplain of the Fleet.

† Phil. i. 23.

any man? No. Hath he meddled with *alam*,* our Holy Father's merchandize? No. Hath he counterfeited our Holy Father's bulls? No. For these were high treason. One whispered another in the ear, and said, he was a rich man, a great fault. Here was a goodly prey for that Holy Father: it was in Pope Julius's time, he was a great warrior. This prey would help him to maintain his wars; a jolly prey for our Holy Father.—So this woman was rich: she was a rich woman, she held her lands under the sheriff's nose: he was a gentleman of a long nose: such a cup, such a cover. She would not depart from her own. The sheriff was a covetous man, a worldly man. The judge, at the impannelling of the quest, had his grave looks, and charged them with this: it was the King's matter, look well upon it. When it makes for their purpose, they have the King, the King in their mouths. Well, somewhat there was, there was walking of angels † between them. I would wish that of such a judge in England now we might have the skin hanged up. It were a goodly sign, the sign of a judge's skin. ‡ It should be Lot's wife to all judges that should follow after.

Ye see here that Lady Covetousness is a fruitful woman, ever childing, and ever bringing forth. It is a true saying, * Covetousness is the root of all wickedness. One will say, peradventure, you speak unseemly, and inconveniently, so to be against the officers, for taking of rewards in doing pleasures. Ye consider not the matter to the bottom.

Their offices be bought for great sums; now how should they receive their money again, but by bribing? ye would have them undone: some of them gave two hundred pounds, some five hundred pounds, some two thousand pounds; and how shall they gather up this

* A word signifying St. Peter's patrimony, with the immunities, rights, privileges, and emoluments appertaining to the same.

† A gold coin current in Latimer's time, which bore the figure of an angel stamped on it, and was worth about ten shillings.

‡ See page 142.

§ I. Tim. vi. 10.

money again, but by helping themselves in their office? And is it so, think ye? Are civil offices bought for money? Lord God! who should have thought that? Let us not be so hasty to credit it: for then we have the old proverb, 'All things are sold for money at Rome;' and Rome is come home to our own doors. If they buy, they must needs sell; for it is wittily spoken: 'He may lawfully sell it, he bought it before.' God defend, that ever any such enormity should be in England, that civil offices should be bought and sold; whereas, men should have them given for their worthiness. I would the King's Majesty should seek through his realm for meet men, and able men, worthy to be in office, yea, and give them liberally for their pains; and rather give them money to take the office in hand, than they to give money for it. This buying of offices is a making of bribery, it is an inducing and inforcing, and compelling of men to bribery. Holy scripture qualifyeth the officers, and sheweth what manner of men they should be, and of what qualities, 'strong men;' some translations have, 'wise men;' the English translation hath it very well, 'men of activity,*' that have stomachs to do their office, they must not be milkops, nor white-livered knights; they must be wise, hardy, and hearty. Secondly, it qualifyeth them with the fear of God; it saith they must be 'fearing God.' For if he fear God, he shall be no briber, nor perverter of judgement, but faithful. Thirdly, they must be chosen officers, 'in whom is truth;' if he say it, it shall be done. Fourthly, having covetousness far from him; he will not come near it that hateth it: it is not he that will give five hundred pounds for an office. With these qualities, God's wisdom would have magistrates to be qualified.

This cometh from the devil's consistory, to pay: if they pay so much, it must needs follow that they take

* Exod. xviii. 21. Our translation reads more comprehensively 'able men,' which includes all the other senses, and agrees with the Hebrew.

gifts, and that they be bribe-takers. Such as be meet to bear office, seek them out, hire them, give them competently and liberally, and they shall not need to take any bribes. And if ye sell offices, ye are as they which sell their benefices, and so we shall have all things bought for money. I marvel the ground gapes not to devour us; howbeit, we ought not to marvel, surely it is the great lenity of God that suffers it. O Lord, in what case are we! If the men in Turkey should use in their religion of Mahomet* to sell, as our patrons commonly sell benefices here, the office of preaching, the office of salvation, it would be taken as an intolerable thing; the Turk would not suffer it in his commonwealth. Patrons be charged to see the office done, and not to seek lucre and gain by their patronship. There was, upon a time, a patron in England, that had a benefice fallen into his hand, and a good brother of mine came unto him, and brought him thirty apples in a dish, and gave them to his man to carry them to his master; and it is like he gave one to his man for his labour, to make up the game, and so there were thirty-one. This man cometh to his master and presenteth him with a dish of apples; saying, Sir, such a man hath sent you a dish of fruit, and desireth you to be good unto him for such a benefice. 'Tush, tush,' quoth he, 'this is no apple matter; I will have none of his apples, I have as good as these, or as any he hath, in my own orchard.' The man came to the priest again, and told him what his master said. Then, quoth the priest, desire him yet to prove one of them for my sake, he shall find them much better than they look for. He cut one of them, and found ten pieces of gold in it. Marry, quoth he, this is a good apple. The priest standing not

* In Turkey, and all the countries which have received the Mahometan faith, there is no such thing as selling of advowsons, no simony, no fraud, in the disposal of ecclesiastical benefices and dignities. Ricaut says, the Turks have a great regard to truth in all their dealings, and that they detest lying and deceit. The Musti of Constantinople keeps no office for the sale of dispensations, pardons, indulgences, the purchase of livings in proviso, the praying of souls out of purgatory, and the canonization of saints.

far off, hearing what the gentleman said, cried out and answered, 'They are all one fruit, I warrant you, Sir; they grew all on one tree, and have all one taste.' Well, he is a good fellow, let him have it, said the patron. Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it will stand you in a better stead than all St. Paul's learning. Well, let patrons take heed, for they shall answer for all the souls that perish through their default. There is a saying, that there be a great many in England, that say there is no soul, that believe not the immortality of man's soul, that think it is not eternal, but like a dog's soul, that think there is neither heaven nor hell. O Lord, what a weighty matter is this! what a lamentable thing in a christian commonwealth! I cannot tell what they say, but I perceive by their deeds that they think so, or else they would never do as they do. These fellows of offices shew, that they believe that there is neither hell nor heaven: it is taken for a laughing matter.

Well, I must go on: now to the chapter. The children of Israel came to Samuel, and said, 'Thou art grown into age, give us a King; thy sons walk not in thy ways.' What a grief was this to father Samuel's heart, to hear that his sons, whom he had so brought up, should swerve from his ways that he had walked in! Father Samuel goes to God, to know his will and pleasure in this matter. God answered, 'Let them have a King; they have not cast away thee, but me, that I should not reign over them.' This is their ground, that say a King is an odious thing, and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violate this place to make it for their purpose; where no such thing is meant. Shew the Israelites, saith God, and testify to them a King's authority, and what a King is, and what a King will do. If that will not persuade them, I will not hear them hereafter, when they cry unto me.

I must needs confess, that the Jews trespassed against God in asking a King: but here is the matter, in what thing their offence stood; whether absolutely in asking a King, or in any other circumstance. It was in a circumstance;

stance; they said not, ask a King of God; but make us a King to judge us, as other nations have. They would have a King of their own sort, and of their own election, as though they cared not for God. In another point there was pride; they would be like the heathen, and have judges under Kings, as they had. Thirdly, they offended God, because they asked a King, to the injury and wrong of good father Samuel, to depose him; so this was a wrong toward Samuel. It was not with Samuel and his children, Joel and Abiah, like as with Eli and his children, which were Hophni and Phineas. They were cruel, who with hooks taking the flesh out of the pots, when the sacrifice was offered to God, brought the people into a contempt of God's word.* They were lewd persons; their sin was manifestly and notoriously known: and their father Eli knowing and hearing of it, did blame them, but nothing to the purpose; he did not earnestly, and substantially chastise them, and therefore he was justly deposed of God. The sins of Samuel's sons were not known, they were not so notorious, wherefore it was not with father Samuel as it was with Eli; his sons' faults were taking of bribes, and perverting of judgement. Ye know that bribery is a secret fault, and therefore it was not known: it was done under a colour and pretence of justice, hiddenly, and covertly done: therefore because it stood in bribes, it was not like in Samuel as in Eli. It is a dangerous thing to be in office; for he that meddles with pitch is like to be spotted with it. Bribes may be resembled to pitch, for even as pitch doth pollute their hands that meddle with it, so bribes will bring you to perverting of justice. Beware of pitch, you judges of the world, bribes will make your pervert justice.

Why, you will say, We touch none. No marry, but my mistress your wife hath a fine finger, she toucheth it for you; or else you have a servant, and he will say, If you will come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shall speed never the worse; but I think my

* I. Sam. ii. 12—17.

master will take none. When he hath offered them to the master, then comes another servant, and says, If you will bring them to the clerk of the kitchen, you shall be remembered the better. This is a friarly fashion, that will receive no money in their hands, but will have it put into their sleeves; a goodly rag of popish religion. They be like observant friars that will not be seen to receive bribes themselves, but have others to receive them for them.

Though Samuel's sons were private bribers, and kept the thing very close, yet the cry of the people brought it to Samuel. It was a hidden kind of sin: for men in this point would face it, and make a shew of upright dealing, when they be most guilty. Nevertheless, this came out. O wicked sons, that brought forth their father to deposition, and themselves to shame! When Samuel heard of their fault, he went not about to excuse it; he would not bear with his sons, he would not excuse their receiving gifts or bribes, or be partaker in his sons' offences; but said, 'I am grown old, and behold my sons are with you.' As soon as he heard of it, he delivered his sons to the people to be punished.

He went not about to excuse them, nor said this is the first time, bear with them; but presented them presently to the people, saying, 'Lo, here they be, take them, do with them according to their deserts.' O would there were no more bearers of other men's sins than this good father Samuel was!

I heard of late of a notable bloodshed: 'I hear,' saith St. Paul; and so do I: I know it not, but I heard of it. There was a searcher * in London, who executing his office, displeased a merchantman, inso much that when he

* He was a public sworn officer, appointed by the crown to look to the assize of woollen cloth made throughout the realm, and to the seals affixed for that purpose. He took an account of the number of yards or ells of every kind of cloth, and marked the qualities of it. He had the power of entering the house of the clothier and all persons dealing in cloth, at all times, and making his search.

was doing his office they were at words : the merchant-man threatened him ; the searcher said, the King should not lose his custom. The merchant goes home, and sharpens his wood-knife, and comes again and knocks him on the head, and kills him. They that told me the tale, say it is winked at ; they look through their fingers and will not see it. Whether it be taken up with a pardon, or no, I cannot tell ; but of this I am sure, that if you bear with such matters, the devil shall bear you away to hell.

Bloodshed and murder should have no bearing ; bloodshedding is an heinous thing, and especially voluntary, premeditated murder. For in Numbers, God saith, it pollutes the whole realm ; ‘ the land cannot be purified nor ‘ cleansed again, till his blood be shed that shed another ‘ man’s.’* It is the office of a King to see such murders punished with death, for ‘ he is not to bear the sword in ‘ vain.’† What will you make of a King ? He beareth a sword before him, not a peacock’s feather. I go not about to stir you now to cruelty ; but I speak against the bearing of bloodshed : this bearing must be looked upon. In certain cases such great circumstances may be, that the King may pardon a murderer. But if I were worthy to be of counsel, or if I were asked my advice, I would not have the King to pardon a voluntary murder, a premeditated murder.

I can tell where one man slew another in a township, and was attached upon the same : twelve men were impannelled. That man had friends ; the sheriff had laboured the bench. The twelve men stuck at it, and said, Except he would disburse twelve crowns, they would find him guilty. Means were found that the twelve crowns were paid. The inquest came in, and said, Not guilty. Here was not guilty for twelve crowns.

This is a bearing, and if some of the bench were hanged, they were well served. This makes men bold to murder and slaughter. We should reserve murdering till

* Num. xxxv. 33.

† Rom. xiii. 4.

we come to our enemies, and the King bids us fight: he that would bestir him then, were a good fellow indeed. 'Crowns,' quoth he: if their crowns were shaven to their shoulders, thy were served well enough.

I know where there was a woman that played the harlot, and was with child; who being delivered by herself of three children, wrung their necks, and cast them into the water, and so killed her children; suddenly she was lean again, and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she confessed all: afterward she was arraigned at the bar for it, and dispatched, and found not guilty, through making of friends and bribing of the judge; where, at the same sessions, another poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off a hedge, that were not worth a crown.

There was a certain gentleman, a professor of the word of God, (he sped never the better for that, ye may be sure) who was accused for murdering a man, whereupon he was cast into prison; and by chance, as he was in prison, one of his friends came to him to visit him, and he declared unto his friend, that he was not guilty of murdering the man; so he went his ways. The gentleman was arraigned and condemned; and as he went to his execution, he saw his friend's servant, and said unto him, Commend me to thy master, and I pray thee tell him, I am still the same man I was when he was with me; and if thou tarry awhile, thou shalt see me die. There was suit made for this man's pardon, but it could not be obtained; belike the sheriffs, or some other, bare him no good will, but he died for it. Afterward, I being in the Tower, having leave to come to the lieutenant's table, I heard him say, that there was a man hanged afterward that killed the same man for whom this gentleman was executed. O Lord; what manner of hearing and judging is this in a christian commonwealth! I desire your Majesty to remedy the matter, and God grant you to see the redress in this realm in your own person: although my Lord Protector, I doubt not, and the rest of the privy council do, in the mean while, all that lieth

in them to redress things. I would such as be rulers, noblemen, and masters, would be at this point with their servants, to certify them on this sort: if any man go about to do you wrong, I will do my best to help you in your right; but if you break the law, you shall have justice. If you will be man-slayers, murderers, and transgressors, look for no favour at my hands. A strange thing! What need we to burden ourselves with other mens' sins; have we not sins enough of our own? What need have I to burden myself with other mens' sins? I have two burdens and heaps of sins; one heap of known sins, another of unknown sins. I had need to say, 'O Lord, deliver me from my hidden and unknown sins.* Then if I bear with other mens', I must say, Deliver me from my other-mens' sins. A strange saying; from other mens' sins. He that beareth with other folks offences, he communicates with other mens' sins. Men have sins enough of their own, although they bear not nor bolster up other men in their naughtiness. This bearing, bolstering, and looking through their fingers, is naught. Why should I, or any man else, increase his burden? 'My other-mens' sins forgive me, O Lord!'—a very strange language; every man hath sins enough of his own.

Old father Samuel would not bear his own sons' sins; he offered them to be punished, and said, even at the first time, he said; Lo here they be. I discharge myself; take them unto you: and as for my part, 'I am here ready to answer for myself before the Lord, and his anointed. Behold, here I am, witness of me before the Lord, whether I have taken any man's ox, any man's ass, or whether I have done any man wrong, or hurt any man, or taken any bribes at any man's hand.† I cannot but commend the English translation, that doth interpret *munera*, bribes, not gifts. They answered, Nay, forsooth, we know no such things in you. 'God is my witness,' saith he, 'that ye have found nought in my

* Ps. xix. 12.

I. Sam. xii. 1—5.

* hands.

'hands.' Few such Samuels are here in England, or in the world. Why did Samuel this? Marry, to purge himself, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongfully deposed.

Then by this ye may perceive the fault of the Jews, for they did not offend God in merely asking a King, but in asking for a King to the wronging and deposing of good father Samuel. If after Samuel's death the people had asked of God a King, they had not been faulty: but it is no small fault to put an innocent person out of his office.

King David likewise commanded his people to be numbered, and thereby offended God grievously. Why? Might he not know the number of his people? Yes, it was not the numbering of his people that offended God, for a King may number his people; but he did it of pride, of an elevation of mind, not according to God's ordinance, but as having a trust in the number of his men; this offended God. Likewise the Jews asked a King, and therewith they offended not God, but they asked him with such circumstances, that God was offended with them. It is no small fault to put a just man out of his office, and to depose him unworthily. To choose a King contrary to the ordinance of God, is a casting away of God, and not of a King. Therefore doubt not but the title of a King is a lawful thing, it is a lawful title, as of other magistrates. Only let Kings take heed that they do as it becometh Kings to do, that they do their office well. It is a great and weighty charge. Let them beware that they bear not with other mens' faults, for they shall give a strict account for all that perish through their negligence. We perceive now what this text meaneth; it is written in the end of Judges: 'In those days there was no King in Israel, every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes.' Men were then allowed to do what they would. When men may be allowed to do what they will, then it is good to have no King at all. Here is a wonderful matter, that unpreaching prelates should be suffered so long,

even for these several hundred years, and all this while the realm had as good have had no King. Likewise these bribing judges have been suffered of a long time: to suffer this, is as much as to say, there is no King in England; for it is the duty of a King to have all estates set in order, and see that all officers properly discharge their trust.

I have troubled you too long, I will make an end. 'Blessed be they that hear the word of God,' but so that they follow it, and keep it in credit, and memory, not to deprave it and slander it, and bring the preacher out of credit, but that follow it in their life and conversation. He that made both you and me, grant you all that blessing for his mercy sake in Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

SERMON

S E R M O N X.

THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES.

Being the sixth preached before King Edward VI.

April 12, 1549.

R O M A N S X V . 4 .

*Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for
our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the
scriptures might have hope.*

W H A T doctrine is written for us in the eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel, I did partly shew unto you, most honourable audience, this day seven-night of that good man, father Samuel, that good judge, how good a man he was, what helpers and coadjutors he took unto him, to have his office well discharged. I told you also of the wickedness of his sons, how they took bribes, and lived wickedly, and by that means brought both their father and themselves to deposition; and how the people did offend God, in asking a King in father Samuel's time; and how father Samuel was put from his office, who deserved it not. I opened unto you also, how father Samuel cleared himself, that he knew not the faults of his sons; he was no bearer with them, he was sorry for it when he heard it, but he would not bear with them in their wickedness, 'My sons are with you,' saith he, 'do with them according to their deserts: I will not maintain them, nor bear with them.' After that, he clears himself at the King's feet, that the people had no-
thing

thing to burden him withal, neither their money, nor money's worth. In treating of that part, I chanced to shew you, what I heard of a man that was slain, and I hear say it was not well taken. Truly, I intended not to impair any man's estimation or honesty, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meaning. I said I heard but of such a thing, and took occasion by that that I heard to speak against the thing that I knew to be naught, that no man should bear with any man to the maintenance of voluntary and premeditated murder: and I hear say since, the man is counted an honest man, and they that spake for him are honest men; I am inclinable enough to credit it; I spake not because I would have any man's honesty impaired. Only I did, as St. Paul did, who hearing of the Corinthians, that there should be contentions and disorder among them, did write unto them what he heard, and thereupon, by occasion of hearing,* he sets forth the very wholesome doctrine of the Supper of the Lord. We might not have lacked that doctrine, I can tell you. Be it so, that the Corinthians had no such contentions among them, as Paul wrote of: be it so, that they had not mis-ordered themselves, it was neither off nor on to that that Paul said: the matter lay in this, that upon hearing he would take occasion to set out the good and true doctrine. So, I did not affirm it to be true that I heard, I spake it to advertise you, to beware of bearing with wilful and premeditated murder: I would have nothing enforced against any man; this was mine intent and meaning. I do not know what ye call chance-medley* in the law, it is not for my study; I am a scholar in God's book, I study that, I know what voluntary murder is before God: if I should fall out with a man, he being angry with me, and I with him, and lacking opportunity and place, we shall put it off for that time, in the mean season I prepare my weapon, and

* I. Cor. xi.

† Chance medley, in law, is the accidental killing of a man, not altogether without the killer's fault, but without an evil intent.

sharpen

sharpen it against another time, I swell and boil in this passion towards him, I seek him, and we meddle together, it is my chance, by reason my weapon is better than his, and so forth, to kill him, I give him his death-stroke in my vengeance and anger; this call I voluntary murder in scripture; what it is in the law, I cannot tell.* It is a great sin, and therefore I call it voluntary. Also, I now very well remember me what a learned clerk writeth of this; 'Every sin,' saith he, 'is so voluntary, that if it be not voluntary, it cannot be called sin.' Sin is not actual sin if it be not voluntary. I wish we would all know our faults and repent; what is done, is done; it cannot be called back again. God is merciful, the King is merciful; here we may repent, this is the place of repentance; when we are gone hence, it is then too late to repent. And let us be content with such order as the magistrates shall take, but sure it is a perilous thing to bear with any such matter. I told you what I heard say; I would have no man's honesty impaired by my telling.

I heard say since of another murder, that a Spaniard should kill an Englishman, and run him through with his sword: they say he was a tall man, but I hear not that the Spaniard was hanged for his labour, for if I had, I would have told you that too. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a harlot. O Lord! what whoredom is now-a-days, as I hear by the relation of honest men, which tell it not after a worldly sort, as though they rejoiced at it, but heavily, with heavy hearts, how God is dishonoured in this city of London; yea, the Bank † when it stood, was never so common: if it be true that is told, it is marvel that it doth not sink, and that the earth gapeth not and swalloweth it up.

It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom unpunished. God hath suffered long of his great lenity, mercy, and benignity, but he will punish harshly if we do not repent. There is some place in

* This, no doubt, is murder by our law.

† See note, page 129.

London, as they say, of immunity, impunity, what should I call it? a privileged* place for whoredom: the lord-mayor hath nothing to do there, the sheriffs there may not meddle with it, and the inquest they do not inquire of it: and there men do bring their whores, yet other mens' wives, and there is no reformation of it.

There are such dicing houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their money; and where dicing is, there are other follies also. For the love of Almighty God let remedy be had, let us wrestle and strive against sin. Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves, (for we much needs have some recreation, our bodies cannot endure without some exercise) they were wont to go abroad into the fields a shooting; but now, it is turned into cheating, drinking, and whoredom within the house. The game of shooting hath been, in times past, much esteemed in this realm; it is a gift that God hath given us to excel all other nations withal; it hath been God's instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies. A wondrous thing, that so excellent a gift of God should be so little esteemed! I desire you, my Lords, even as you love the honour and glory of God, and intend to remove his indignation, let there be sent forth some sharp proclamation to the justices of peace, that they may do their duty; for justices now are no justices; there be many good acts made for this matter already: charge them upon their allegiance, that this singular benefit of God may be better practised, and that it be not turned into bowling, drinking, and whoredom, within the towns for they be negligent in executing these laws of shooting. In my time, my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing; and so I think other men did their children: he taught me how to draw

* St. Martin's-le-Grand, which, at this time, as Mr. Stow says, was exempt from the jurisdiction of the mayor of London; and was a receptacle for whores, thieves, and evil-minded people of all sorts. At this time also there was in this Liberty a playhouse which was in part of the old dissolved monastery of St. Martin.

how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as divers other nations do, but with strength of the body: I had my bows bought me, according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger, for men shall never shoot well, except they be brought up in it; it is a worthy game, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physick.

Marcilius Phisinus, in his book *De triplici vita*, it is now a great while since I read him, but I remember he commendeth this kind of exercise, and faith, that it wrestleth against many kind of diseases. In the reverence of God let it be continued; let a proclamation go forth, charging the justices of peace, that they see such acts and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose.

I will to my matter. I intend this day to intreat of a piece of scripture written in the beginning of the fifth chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take this place by a book sent to the King's Majesty that is dead, by Master Pole: it is a text that he doth greatly abuse, for the supremacy. He racks it, and violates it, to serve for the maintenance of the Bishop of Rome. And as he did enforce the other place, that I intreated last, so did he enforce this also, to serve his matter. The story is this.

Our Saviour Christ was come now to the bank of the water of Gennefareth. The people were come to him, and flocked about him, to have him preach. And Jesus took a boat that was standing at the pool, it was Simon's boat, and went into it. And sitting in the boat, he preached to them that were on the bank. And when he had preached and taught them, he spake to Simon, and bade him launch out farther into the deep, and let loose his nets to catch fish. And Simon made answer and said, Master, we have laboured all night, but we caught nothing; howbeit, at thy commandment, because thou biddest us, we will go to it again. And so they did, and caught a great draught, a miraculous draught, so much that the net brake; and they called to their fellows that were by, for they had two boats, to come to help them.

‘ them, and they came, and filled both their boats so full, that they were near drowned.’

This is the story, and that I may declare this text so, that it may be to the honour of God, and edification both of your souls and mine, I shall desire you to help me with your prayer, in the which, &c.

LUKE V. 1—7.

St. Luke tells the story. ‘ And it came to pass, when the people pressed upon him, so that he was in peril to be cast into the pond, they rushed so fast upon him, and made such throng to him.’ A wondrous thing, what a desire the people had in those days to hear our Saviour Christ preach, and the cause may be gathered, from the latter end of the fourth chapter of St. Luke.

Our Saviour Christ had preached unto them, and healed the sick folks of such diseases and maladies as they had, and therefore the people would willingly have retained him still: but he made them answer, and said: ‘ I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also; I must shew them my Father’s will, for I came for that purpose.’ I was sent to preach the word of God. Our Saviour Christ said, that he must not tarry in one place: for he was sent to the world, to preach every where. Is it not a marvellous thing, that our unpreaching prelates can read this place, and yet preach no more than they do? I marvel how they can go quietly to bed: and see how he allureth them with his example to be diligent in their office. Here is a godly lesson also; how our Saviour Christ fled from glory. If these ambitious persons, that climb to honour by bye-walks inordinately, would consider this example of Jesus Christ, they should come to more honour than they do, for when they seek honour by such bye-walks they come to confusion: honour followeth them that flee from it. Our Saviour Christ went away early in the morning into the wilderness. I wish they would follow this example of Christ, and not seek honour by such bye-walks as they do. But what did the people

when he had hid himself? They found him out in the wilderness, and came unto him by flocks, and in great numbers. But where read you that a great number of Scribes and Pharisees, and bishops followed him? There is a doctor that writeth of this place, his name is Doctor Nicholas Goreham; I knew him to be a school doctor a great while ago, but I never knew him to be an interpreter of the scriptures till now of late; he saith thus: 'There is more devotion in lay-folk and old wives, and in these simple folk, and vulgar people, than in the great clerks; they be better affected to the word of God, than these that be of the clergy.' I marvel not at the sentence, but I marvel at such a sentence in such a doctor. If I should say so much, it would be said to me, 'It is an evil bird that defiles her own nest;' and, 'There is no man hurt, but of his ownself.' There was verified this saying of our Saviour Christ, which he spake in another place; 'Wheresoever the dead carcase is, thither will the eagles resort.' Our Saviour Christ compares himself to a dead carcase;* for where the carrion is, there will the eagles be: and though it be an evil smell and savour to us, and stinks in a man's nose, yet it is a sweet smell to the eagles, they would seek it out. So the people sought out Christ, they smelt his savour; he was a sweet savour unto them. He is the savour of life to life. They flocked about him like eagles; they had no pleasure to hear the Scribes and Pharisees; they stunk in their nose, their doctrine was unfavoury, it was of onions, of anniseed and cummin, and such stuff. There was no comfort in it for afflicted consciences, there was no con-

* Although the general sentiment of this paragraph be certainly just, it must be acknowledged no very happy illustration of the passage here quoted, viz. Luke xvii. 37. This text is paraphrased by Dr. Doddridge, with his usual ingenuity, thus: 'Wherever the impenitent and unbelieving Jews are, the vengeance of God will pursue them, and the Roman eagles, [*N.B.* The Romans bore an eagle on their standards.] shall, as it were, fly upon them as an helpless prey; and so, where their numbers are the largest, there the destruction will be greatest and most terrible.'

folation for wounded souls, there was no remedy for sins, as there was in Christ's doctrine, which eased the burden of the soul; it was most sweet to the common people, and four to the Scribes; it was such comfort and pleasure to them, that they came flocking about him. Wherefore came they? That they might hear the word of God. It was a good coming: they came to hear the word of God.

It is not to be thought they came all of one mind to hear the word of God; it is likely, that in so great a multitude, some came of curiosity, to hear some novelties, and some came smelling a sweet savour, to have consolation of God's word, for we cannot be saved without hearing of the word. It is a necessary way to salvation, we cannot be saved without faith, and 'faith cometh by hearing of the word. And how shall they hear without a preacher?' I tell you, it is the footstep of the ladder of heaven for our salvation: there must be preachers, if we look to be saved. I told you of this gradation before, in the tenth of the Romans. Consider it well, I had rather ye should come with a naughty mind to hear the word of God for novelty, or for curiosity to hear some pastime, than be away. I had rather you should come, as the tale is, of the gentlewoman of London; one of her neighbours met her in the street, and said, Mistress, whither go ye? 'Marry,' said she, 'I am going now to St. Thomas of Acres * to the sermon; I could not sleep all the last night, and I am going now thither; I never failed of a good nap there.' And so I had rather ye would go a napping to the sermons, than not to go at all; for with what mind soever ye come, though ye come for an evil purpose, yet peradventure ye may chance to be caught ere you go, the preacher may chance to catch you on his hook. Rather than ye should not come at all, I would have you come of curiosity, as St. Augustine did to hear St. Ambrose. When St. Augustine came to Milan, (he tells the story himself, in the end of his

* It was an hospital in Cheapside so called, situate nigh the ground whereon since has been built Mercers' Hall and Chapel.

book of Confessions) he was very desirous to hear St. Ambrose, not for any love he had to the doctrine that he taught, but to hear his eloquence, whether it was so great as the speech was, and as the report went. Well, before he departed, St. Ambrose caught him on his hook, and converted him, so, that he became of a Manichee,* and of a Platonist, a good Christian, a defender of Christ's religion, and of the faith afterward: so I would have you come to sermons. It is declared in many places of the scripture, how necessary preaching is, as this: 'The preaching of the gospel is the power of God to every man that doth believe.'† He meaneth God's word opened, it is the instrument and the means whereby we are saved.

Beware, beware, ye diminish not this office, for if ye do, ye annul God's power to all that do believe. Christ saith, consonant to the same, 'Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God.‡' He must have a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, as these firebrands expound it, and nothing else. How is it to be expounded then? St. Peter sheweth that one place of scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance and collation of places that maketh scripture plain. St. Peter saith, 'And we be born again:' How? 'Not by mortal seed, but by immortal.'§ What is this immortal seed? 'By the word of the living God,' by the word of God preached and opened. Thus cometh our new birth.

Here you may see how necessary this office is to salvation: this is the thing that the devil wrestleth most against, it hath been all his study to decay this office: he worketh against it as much as possibly he can, he hath prevailed too much, too much, in it: He hath set up a stately unpreaching prelacy in this realm these seven hun-

* The Manichees (so called from Manes, a Persian) held two first principles, a good God, and an evil one, at eternal war; with other ridiculous notions.

† Rom. i. 16.

‡ John iii. 3.

§ 1. Peter i. 23.

dred years: he hath made unpreaching prelates, and stirred them up by heaps to persecute this office, under the title of heresy: he hath stirred up the magistrates to persecute it, under the title of sedition; and he hath stirred up the people to persecute it with contumelious and slanderous words, as by the name of new learning, strange preaching; and with impropriations* he hath turned preaching into private masses. If a priest should have left mass undone on a Sunday within these ten years, all England would have wondered at it; but they might have left off the sermon twenty Sundays, and never have been blamed. And thus, by these impropriations, private masses were set up, and preaching of God's word trodden under foot. But what doth he now? He stirs men up to outrageous raising of rents, that poor men shall not be able to keep their children at school to be divines.

What an unreasonable devil is this! He provides a great while beforehand for the time that is to come: he hath brought up now of late the most monstrous kind of covetousness that ever was heard of: he hath invented a fee-farming of benefices,† and all to delay the office of preaching; insomuch, that when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will, for any house he shall have to dwell in, or any glebe land to keep hospitality withal; but he must take up a chamber in an alehouse, and there sit to play at tables all day. A goodly curate!

He hath caused also, through this monstrous kind of covetousness, patrons to sell their benefices: yea more, he gets him to the university, and causeth great men and esquires to send their sons thither, and put out poor scholars that should be divines; for their parents intend not that they should be preachers, but that they may have a

* Impropriation, is when a layman being possessed of an ecclesiastical living, converts the profits to his own use, only maintaining a vicar to serve the cure.

† Land held of another in fee, that is, for ever, to himself and his heirs, for a certain yearly rent, more or less; as to an half, third, or fourth of the value.

new of learning. But it were too long to declare unto you, what deceit and means the devil hath found to decay the office of salvation, the office of regeneration.

But to return to my matter: The people came to hear the word of God, they heard him with silence. I remember now a saying of St. Chrysostom, and, peradventure, it might come hereafter in better place; but yet I will take it while it cometh to mind, the saying is this; 'They heard him in silence, not interrupting the order of his preaching.' He means, they heard him quietly, without any shoveling feet, or walking up and down. Truly, it is an ill mis-order that folk shall be walking up and down in the sermon time, as I have seen in this place* this Lent; and there shall be such buzzing and noises in the preacher's ear, that it maketh him oftentimes to forget his matter.

O let us consider the King's Majesty's goodness! This place was prepared for banqueting of the body; and his Majesty hath made it for the comfort of the soul, and to have the word of God preached in it, shewing hereby that he would have all his subjects at it, if it might be possible. Consider what the King's Majesty hath done for you, he alloweth you all to hear with him: consider where ye be; first, ye ought to reverence God's word; and though it be preached by poor men, yet it is the same word that our Saviour spake: consider also the presence of the King's Majesty, God's high vicar on earth, having a respect to his personage, ye ought to have reverence to it, and consider that he is God's high minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of the hearing of God's word. This benefit of his should be thankfully taken, and it should be highly esteemed. Hear in silence,

* A pulpit cross, like that formerly on the south side of St. Paul's, was occasionally erected in the inward garden in the New Palace at Westminster, which, on such occasions, was called the Preaching Place. It appears, by what Master Latimer says of the walking to and fro, and the buzzing of the people, that it was a place of common resort: and the King, when present at such sermons, heard from a window which opened fronting the preacher.

as Chrysoſtom ſaith. It may chance that ſome in the company may fall ſick or be diſeaſed. If there be any ſuch, let them go away with ſilence, let them leave their ſalutations till they come to the court, let them depart with ſilence. I took occaſion of Chryſoſtom's words to admoniſh you of this thing.

What ſhould be the cauſe, that our Saviour Chriſt went into the boat? The ſcripture calleth it a ſhip, a little ſhip. But it was no ſhip, it was a fiſher's boat; they were not able to have a ſhip.* What ſhould be the cauſe, why he would not ſtand on the bank and preach there, but deſired Peter to draw the boat ſomewhat from the ſhore into the miſt of the water, what ſhould be the cauſe? One cauſe was, for that he might ſit there more commodiouſly, than on the bank: another cauſe was, for that he was like to be thruſt in by the crowd of people that came unto him. Why? Our Saviour Chriſt might have withſtood them, he was ſtrong enough to have kept himſelf from thruſting into the water. He was ſtronger than they all, and if he would he might have ſtood on the water, as well as he walked on the water. Truth it is, ſo he might have done indeed. But as it was ſometimes his pleaſure to ſhew the power of his godhead, ſo he declared now the infirmity and imbecility of his manhood.

Here he giveth us an example what we ſhall do: we muſt not tempt God by any miracles, ſo long as we can walk by ordinary ways. As our Saviour Chriſt, when the devil had him on the top of the temple, and would have had him caſt himſelf down, he made him this answer: 'Thou ſhalt not tempt thy Lord God:'. as if he ſhould have ſaid, we may not tempt God at all. It is no time now to ſhew any miracles: there is another way to go down. Thus he did ſhew us an example, that we muſt not tempt God, except it be in extreme neceſſity; and when we cannot otherwiſe remedy the matter, to leave it all to God, elſe we may not tempt the Majeſty

* He means not to be compared with the modern ſhips.

of his deity : beware of tempting God. Well, he comes to Simon's boat, and why rather to Simon's boat than another ? I will answer, as I find by experience in myself. I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry ; and when I came to take boat, the watermen came about me, as the manner is, and one would have me, and another would have me : I took one of them. Now ye will ask me why I came in that boat, rather than in another ? Because I would go into that that I saw stand next me, it stood more commodiously for me. And so did Christ by Simon's boat : it stood nearer for him, or he saw a better seat in it. A good natural reason.

Now come the Papists, and they will make a mystery of it : they will pick out the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in Peter's boat. We may make allegories enough of every place in scripture : but surely it must needs be a simple matter that stands on so weak a ground. But ye shall see further : he desired Peter to thrust out his boat from the shore. He desired him. Here was a good lesson for the Bishop of Rome, and all his college of Cardinals, to learn humility and gentleness. He desired him, it was gently done of him, not with any austerity, but with all urbanity, mildness, softness, and humility. What an example is this that he giveth them here ? But they spy it not, they can see nothing but the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. A wondrous thing what fight they have ! they see nothing but the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. ' Ye have ruled my sheep,' saith Ezekiel, ' and commanded them with great lordliness, austerity, and power : and thus ye have dispersed my sheep abroad : '* and why ? There was no shepherd, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath been many a hundred years without a good shepherd. They would not learn to rule them gently ; they had rule over them, but it was with curfings, excommunications, with great austerity and thunderbolts, to maintain their unpreaching prelacy. I beseech God to open their eyes, that they

* Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 5.

may see the truth, and not be blinded with those things that no man may see but they. It followeth in the text, 'He taught sitting in the boat.' Preachers, belike, were sitting in those days, as it is written in another place, 'They sit in the chair of Moses.'*

I wish our preachers would preach sitting or standing, one way or the other. It was a goodly pulpit that our Saviour Christ had here; an old rotten boat, and yet he preached his Father's will, his Father's message out of this pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he might do the people good. Indeed it is to be commended for the preacher to stand or sit, as the place is; I would not have it so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare the word of God sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tree. And yet if this should be done, the unpreaching prelates would laugh it to scorn. And though it be good to have the pulpit set up in churches, that the people might resort thither, yet I would not have it so superstitiously used, but that in a profane place the word of God might be preached sometimes; and I would not have the people offended withal, no more than they be offended with our Saviour Christ's preaching out of a boat. And yet to have pulpits in churches, it is very well done; but they should be occupied; for it is a vain thing to have them as they stand in many churches.

I heard of a bishop of England that went on visitation; and as it was the custom, when the bishop should come, to be rung into the town, the great bell's clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, so that the bishop could not be rung into the town. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the parish was much blamed for it in the visitation; the bishop was somewhat quick with them, and signified that he was much offended. They made their answers, and excused themselves as well as they could: It was a chance, said they, that the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended yet; we

* Matt. xxiii. 2.

must tarry till we can have it done. It shall be mended as shortly as may be.

Among the other, there was one wiser than the rest, and he came to the bishop. Why, my Lord, saith he, doth your Lordship make so great a matter of the bell that lacketh his clapper? Here is a bell, saith he, and pointed to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a parson that fetcheth out of his benefice fifty pounds every year, but we never see him.

I warrant you the bishop was an unpreaching prelate. He could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into the town, but he could not find any fault with the parson that preached not at his benefice. Ever this office of preaching hath been least regarded, it hath scarce had the name of God's service. They must sing their 'God save the holiday' about the church, that no man was the better for it, but to shew their gay coats and garments.

I came once myself to a place, riding on a journey homeward from London, and I sent word over night into the town that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holiday, and methought it was an holiday's work: the church stood in my way, and I took my horse and my company, and went thither, I thought I should have found a great company in the church, and when I came there, the church door was fast locked. I tarried there half an hour and more; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me and said: 'Sir, this is a busy day with us, we cannot hear you; it is Robin Hood's day. The parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood: I pray you hinder them not.' I was fain here to give place to Robin Hood: I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I was not: but it would not serve, it was fain to give place to Robin Hood's men.

It is no laughing matter, my friends, it is a weeping matter, a heavy matter; under the pretence of gathering for Robin Hood, a traitor, and a thief, to put out a preacher, to have his office less esteemed; to prefer Robin Hood before the ministration of God's word: and all

this hath come of unpreaching prelates. This realm hath been ill provided for, that it hath had such corrupt judgements in it, to prefer Robin Hood to God's word. If the bishops had been preachers, there should never have been any such thing; but we have a good hope of better. We have had a good beginning, I beseech God to continue it. But I tell you, it is sad that the people have such judgements; the bishops they could laugh at it. What was that to them? They would have them to continue in their ignorance still, and themselves in unpreaching prelacy.

Well, 'He sat down and taught.' The text doth tell us *that* he taught, but it doth not tell us *what* he taught. If I were a papist, I could tell what he said; I would in the Pope's judgement shew what he taught. For the Bishop of Rome hath in the cabinet of his own breast, the true understanding of the scriptures: if he call a council, the college of Cardinals, he hath authority to determine the Supper of the Lord, as he did at the council of Florence.* And Pope Nicholas, and Bishop Lanfrank shall come and expound this place, and say, that our Saviour Christ said thus: 'Peter, I do mean this by sitting in thy boat, that thou shalt go to Rome, and be bishop there, five and twenty years after mine ascension, and all thy successors shall be rulers of the universal church after thee.'

Here would I also place holy water, and holy bread, and all unwritten verities, if I were a papist; and, that scripture is not to be expounded by any private interpretation, but by our holy Father, and his college of Cardinals. This is a great deal better place than 'Launch into the deep.' But what was Christ's sermon? it may soon be gathered what it was. He is always like himself. His First sermon was 'Repent;' your living is naughty. 'Repent.'† Again, at Nazareth, when he read in the

* The Council of Florence was held in 1431, under the Emperor Albertus, by Pope Eugenius IV. in which it was determined to use unleavened bread in the Sacrament.

† Mark i. 15.

temple, and preached remission of sins, and healing of wounded consciences; and in the long sermon on the mount, he was always like himself, he never dissented from himself.

O there is a writer hath a good saying here, and his name is Dionysius: I chanced to meet with his book in my Lord of Canterbury's library; he was a Monk of the Charterhouse. I marvel to find such a sentence in that author. 'What taught Christ in this sermon? Marry,' saith he, 'it is not written.' And he added more unto it; 'It is true, it is not written. All his miracles were not written, so neither were all his sermons written: yet for all that the evangelists did write so much as was necessary.'

They wrote so much of the miracles and sermons of Christ, as they knew by God's inspiration to be sufficient for the edifying of the church, the confirmation of our faith, and the health of our souls. If this be true, as it is indeed, where be unwritten verities? I marvel not at the sentence, but to find it in such an author. What authority he gives to God's word! but God would that such men should be witnesses with the authority of his book, will they, nill they. Now to draw towards an end.

It followeth in the text, 'Launch into the deep.' Here cometh in the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. When our Saviour Christ had ended his Sermon, and fed their souls, he provided for their bodies. First he began with the soul, Christ's word is the food of it. Now he goeth to the body; he hath charge of them both: we must commit the feeding of the body and of the soul to him. Well, he saith to Peter, 'Launch into the depth, put forth thy boat farther into the deep of the water; loose your nets; now fish.' As who should say, your souls are now fed, I have taught you my doctrine, now I will confirm it with a miracle. Lo, Sir, here is, 'Launch into the deep;' here Peter was made a great man, say the papists, and all his successors after him. And this is derived of these few words, 'Launch into
' the

'the deep.' And their argument is this: he spake to Peter only, and he spake to him in the singular number; therefore he gave him such a pre-eminence above the rest. A good argument, I think it to be a syllogism; I will make a like argument.

Our Saviour Christ said to Judas when he was about to betray him, 'What thou doest, do quickly.*' Now when he spake to Peter, there was none of his disciples by, but James and John, but when he spake to Judas they were all present. Well, he said unto him, speed thy business that thou hast in hand, do it. He gave him a secret motion, that he knew what he intended, if Judas had had grace to have taken it, and repented. He spake it in the singular number to him; therefore he gave him some pre-eminence. Belike he made him a Cardinal; and it might full well be, for they have followed Judas ever since.

Here is as good ground for the college of Cardinals, as the other is for the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. Our Saviour Christ, say they, spake only to Peter for pre-eminence, because he was chief of the Apostles, and you can shew no other cause; therefore this is the cause why he spake to him in the singular number. I dare say there is never a wherryman at Westminster-bridge, but he can answer to this, and give a natural reason of it. He knoweth that one man is able to shove the boat, but one man was not able to cast out the nets, and therefore he said in the plural number, 'Loose your nets:' and he said in the singular number to Peter, 'Launch out the boat:' why? because he was able to do it. But he spake to the other in the plural number, because he was not able to convey the boat, and cast out the nets too. One man could not do it. This would the wherryman say, and that with better reason, than to make such mystery of it, as no man can spy but they. And the cause why he spake to all, was to shew, that he will have all christian men to work for their living. It is he

* John xiii. 27.

that sends food for the body and soul, but he will not send it without labour. He will have all christian people to labour for it; he will use our labour as a means whereby he sendeth our food.

This was a wondrous miracle of our Saviour Christ, who did it not only to allure them to his discipleship, but but also for our benefit. It was a seal, to seal his doctrine withal. Now ye know that such as be the keepers of seals, as my Lord Chancellor, and such other, whatsoever they be, they do not always seal, they have a sealing time. For I have heard poor men complain, that they have been put off from time to time of sealing, till all their moneys were spent: and as they have a time to seal in, so our Saviour Christ had his time of sealing. When he was here on earth with his Apostles, and in the time of the primitive church, Christ's doctrine was sufficiently sealed already with seals of his own making: what should our seals do? What need we to seal his seal? it is a confirmed doctrine already.

O Luther, when he came into the world first, and disputed against the Decretals, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Extravagantines,* what ado had he? But ye will say, peradventure he was deceived in some things. I will not take upon me to defend him in all points. I will not stand to it, that all that he wrote was true; I think he would not do so himself. For there is no man but he may err. He came to farther and farther knowledge; but surely he was a goodly instrument: well, I say, when he preached first, they called upon him to do miracles. Indeed when the popish prelates preached first, they had need of miracles, and the devil wrought some in the preaching of purgatory. But what kind of miracles these were, all England doth know, but it will not know. A wonderful thing, that the people will continue in their blindness and ignorance still.

* Decretals; decrees of the Popes, collected by Gratian—Clementines; those in particular of Pope Clement V.—Alexandrines; those of Pope Alexander—Extravagantines, certain decrees of John XXII. and other Popes.

We have great utility of the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ. He doth signify unto us by wonderful works, that he is Lord as well of the water as of the land. A good comfort for those that be on the water, when they be in any tempest, or danger, to call upon him.

The fish here came at his commandment. Here we may learn that all things in the water are subject to Christ. Peter said, 'Sir, we have laboured all night, and have not caught one fish, howbeit, at your word we will to it afresh.' By this it appears that the gain, the lucre, the revenues we get, must not be imputed to our labour? We may not say, Gra-mercy, labour;* it is not labour, it is our Saviour Christ, that sendeth us living: yet must we labour; for he that said to Peter labour, and he that bade the fishers labour, bids all men to labour in their businesses. There be some people that ascribe their gains to the devil. Is there any, think ye, in England would say so? Now if a man should come to another, and say he got his living by the devil, he would fall out with him. There is not a man in England that so saith, yet are there some that think it. For all that get it with false buying and selling, with circumvention, with usury, impostures, mixt wares, false weights, deceiving their lords and masters, all those that get their goods on this fashion, what do they think, but that the devil sendeth them gains and riches? For they be his, being unlawfully gotten: what is this but to say, that the devil is author of their gains, when they be so gotten? for God allows them not. God wills no iniquity. These folks are greatly deceived.

There be some again impute all to their labours and work. Yea, on the holidays, they cannot find in their hearts to come to the temple to the blessed communion, they must be working at home. These are wide again on the other side. And some there be that think, if they work nothing at all, they shall have enough: they will have no good exercise, but gape, and think God will send meat into their mouths; and these are far wide: they

* That is, we must not ascribe the praise to our own industry.

must work: he bade the fishers work. Our Saviour Christ bid Peter work; and he that said so to them, saith the same to us, every man in his art. 'The blessing of God makes a man rich.* He lets his sun shine upon the wicked as well as the good; he sends rain both to the good and bad.† But this blessing turneth to them into malediction, and a curse, it increaseth their damnation. St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, did make an order how every man should work in his vocation, as though he had said, 'When I was among you, I made this ordinance, that whosoever would not do the work of his vocation should have no meat.‡ It was a good ordinance in a commonwealth, that every man should be set to work, every man in his vocation. Now he saith furthermore; 'I hear say, there be some among you that live inordinately.' What is that word inordinately? Idly, giving themselves to no occupation for their living. Curious men, given to curiosity, to searching what other men do. St. Paul saith, 'He heard say;' he could not tell whether it were so or no. But he took occasion of hearing say, to set out a good and wholesome doctrine; 'We command, and desire you for the reverence of God, if there be any such, that they will do the works of their vocation, and go quickly to their occupation, and so eat their own bread:' else it is not their own, it is other mens' meat. Our Saviour Christ, before he began his preaching, lived of his occupation; he was a carpenter, and got his living with great labour.

Therefore let no man disdain, or think scorn to follow him, in a mean living, a mean vocation, or a common calling and occupation. For as he blessed our nature with taking upon him the shape of man, so in his doing he blessed all occupations and arts. This is a notable example to signify, that he abhors all idleness. When he was a carpenter, then he went and did the work of his calling; and when he was a preacher, he did the work

* Prov. x. 22.

† Matt. v. 45.

‡ II. Thes. iii. 10—12.

of that calling. He was no unpreaching prelate. The Bishop of Rome should have learned of him. And these gainers with false arts, what be they? They are never content with that they have, though it be never so much. And they that are true dealers, are satisfied with what God sends, though it be never so little. 'Godliness is
' great gain, it is lucre enough to be content with that,
' that God sendeth.'* The faithful cannot lack, the unfaithful is ever lacking, though he have never so much.

I will now make an end. Let us all labour. Christ teacheth us to labour, yea, the Bishop of Rome himself, he teacheth him to labour, rather then to be head of the church. Let us put our trust in God, 'Cast thy care
' upon the Lord, and he will nourish thee and feed thee.† Again, the prophet David saith, 'I never saw the righteous man forsaken, nor his seed to beg his bread.‡ It is infidelity, that mars all together.

Well, to conclude: every man must labour, yea, though he be a King, yet he must labour: for I know no man hath a greater labour than a King. What is his labour? to study God's book, to see that there be no unpreaching prelates in his realm, nor bribing judges; to see to all his estates; to provide for the poor; to see vic-tuals be good and cheap. Is not this a labour, think ye? Thus if thou dost labour, exercising the works of thy vocation, thou eatest the meat that God sends thee; and then it follows, that thou art a blessed man in God's favour, and it shall go well with thee in this world, both in body and soul, for God provideth for both. How shalt thou provide for thy soul? Go hear Sermons. How for the body? Labour in thy vocation, and then shall it be well with thee, both here and in the world to come, through the faith and merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be praise for ever and ever. *Amen.*

* I. Tim. vi. 6.

† Ps. xxxvii. 25.

‡ Ps. lv. 22.

S E R M O N XI.

THE PASSION OF CHRIST.

*Being the seventh preached before King Edward VI.
on Good Friday, April 19, 1549.*

ROMANS XV. 4.

*For whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for
our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the
scriptures might have hope.*

BY occasion of this text, most honourable audience, I have walked this Lent in the broad field of scripture, and used my liberty, and treated of such matters as I thought meet for this auditory. I have had to do with many estates, even with the highest of all.—I have treated of the duty of kings, of the duty of magistrates and judges, of the duty of prelates, &c. allowing that which is good, and disallowing the contrary. I have taught, that we are all finners. I think there is none of us all, neither preacher nor hearer, but we may be amended, and redress our lives: we may all say, ‘ We have offended and sinned with our forefathers ;* there is none of us all, but have in sundry things grievously offended Almighty God. I here intreated of many faults, and rebuked many kinds of sins. I intend to-day, by God’s grace, to shew you the remedy of sin. We be in the place of repentance, now is the time to call for mercy, whilst we be in this world: we be all finners, even the best of us all; therefore it is good to hear the remedy of sin.

* Pf. cvi. 6.

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This

This day is commonly called Good Friday, although every day ought to be with us Good Friday, yet this day we are accustomed especially to have a commemoration and remembrance of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. This day we have in memory his bitter passion and death, the remedy of our sin: therefore I intend to treat of a piece of the story of his passion; I am not able to speak of all.—That I may do this the better, and that it may be to the honour of God, and the edification of your souls and mine both, I shall desire you to pray, &c.

THE place that I will treat of is the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew; * howbeit, as I speak of it, I will borrow part of St. Mark and St. Luke: for they have somewhat that St. Matthew hath not, and especially Luke. The text is, 'That when Jesus came into the village which is called 'Gethsemane': some have *in villam*, in the village; some *in agrum*, in the field; and some *in prædium*, in the manor: † but it is all one; whether Christ came into a village, into a piece of land, into a field, it makes no matter, call it what ye will. At what time he had come into an honest man's house, and there eaten his paschal lamb, and instituted and celebrated the Lord's supper, and set forth the blessed communion; then when this was done, he took his way to the place where he knew Judas would come. It was a solitary place, and thither he went with his eleven apostles; for Judas, the twelfth, was about his business, he was occupied about his merchandise, and was providing among the bishops and priests to come with an ambushment of Jews to take our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And when he was come into the field, this village, or farm place, which was called Gethsemane, there was a

* From the 36th verse. Compare Mark xiv. and Luke xxii.

† Our translation has 'into a place,' which general expression very well agrees with the Greek *εἰς χωρίον*; but the Greek being at that time little known, it was the fashion to criticize on the Latin versions, especially the Vulgate.

garden, saith Luke, into the which he goes, and leaves eight of his disciples without, howbeit he appointed them what they should do. He saith, 'Sit you here, whilst I go yonder and pray.' He told them, that he went to pray, to admonish them what they should do, to fall to prayer as he did. He left them there, and took no more with him but three, Peter, James, and John, to teach us that a solitary place is fittest for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, 'he began to tremble,' inso-much that he said, 'My soul is heavy and pensive even unto death.'

This is a notable place, and one of the chiefest of all that be in the story of the passion of Christ. Here is our remedy. Here we must have in consideration all his doings and sayings, for our learning, for our edification, for our comfort and consolation.

First of all, he set his three disciples that he took with him in an order, and told them what they should do, saying, 'Sit here, and pray that ye enter not into temptation:' but of that I will treat afterward. Now when he was in the garden, he began to be heavy, pensive, heavy hearted. I like not Origen's playing with this word *cæpit*, [he began.] It was a perfect heaviness: it was such a one as there never was seen a greater.

These doctors, we have great cause to thank God for them, but yet I would not have them always to be allowed. They have handled many points of our faith very godlily, and we may have a great stay in them in many things, we might not well lack them; but yet I would not have men to be sworn to them, and so addicted, as to take hand over head whatsoever they say: it were a great inconvenience so to do.

Well, let us go forward. He took Peter, James, and John, into this garden. And why did he take them with him, rather than other? Marry, those that he had taken before, to whom he had revealed in the hill the transfiguration and declaration of his Deity, to see the revelation of the Majesty of his Godhead, now in the garden he revealed to the same the infirmity of his manhood;

hood; because they had tasted of the sweet, he would they should taste also of the sour. He took these with him both times; for two or three is enough to bear witness; and he began to be heavy in his mind. He was greatly troubled within himself, he was sore afflicted, it was a great heaviness: he had been heavy many times before; and he had suffered great affliction in his soul, as for the blindness of the Jews, and he was like to suffer more pangs of pain in his body: but this pang was greater than any that he had ever suffered; yea, it was a greater torment unto him, I think a greater pain, than when he was hanged on the cross, than when the four nails were knocked and driven through his hands and feet, than when the sharp crown of thorns was thrust on his head. This was the heaviness and pensiveness of his heart, the agony of the spirit. And as the soul is more precious than the body, even so are the pains of the soul more grievous than the pains of the body: therefore one writeth, 'The horror and ugliness of death is sorer than death itself.' This is the most grievous pain that ever Christ suffered, even this pang that he suffered in the garden. It is the most noble place, one of them in the whole story of the passion, when he said, 'My soul is heavy to death; and then he began to tremble and shake.' The grievousness of it is declared by this prayer that he made, 'Father, if it be possible, take away this cup; rid me of it.' He understood by this cup the pains of death; for he knew well enough, that his passion was at hand, that Judas was coming upon him with the Jews to take him.

There was offered unto him now the image of death; the image, the sense, the feeling of hell; for death and hell go both together. I will treat of this image of hell, which is death. Truly no man can shew it perfectly, yet I will do the best I can, to make you understand the grievous pains that our Saviour Christ was in when he was in the garden.

As man's power is not able to bear it, so no man's tongue is able to express it. Painters paint death like a

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man without a skin, and a body having nothing but bones; and hell they paint with horrible flames of burning fire: they bungle somewhat at it, they come nothing near it. No painter can truly paint hell, unless he could paint the torment and condemnation both of the body and soul; the possession and having of all infelicity. This is the image of death, this is hell: such an ill-favoured face, such an ugly countenance, such an horrible visage our Saviour Christ saw of death and hell in the garden. There is no pleasure in beholding of it, but more and more pain than any tongue can tell. Through sin, death and hell took unto them this evil-favoured face of sin. This sin is so highly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished with loss of felicity, with the feeling of infelicity. Death and hell are not only the wages, the reward, the stipend of sin; but they are brought into the world by sin. St. Paul saith, 'Through sin, death entered into the world.*' Moses shews the first coming of it into the world; whereas our first father Adam was set at liberty to live for ever, yet God inhibiting him from eating of the forbidden told him: 'If thou meddle with this fruit, thou and all thy posterity shall be subject to death.†' Here came in Death and Hell, Sin was their mother: therefore they must have such an image as their mother Sin would give them.

An ugly thing and an horrible image must it needs be that is brought in by such a thing so hated of God; yea, this face of Death and Hell is so terrible, that such as have been wicked men, had rather be hanged than abide the view of it. As Achitophel, that traitor to King David, like an ambitious wretch, thought to have come to higher promotion; and therefore conspired with Absalom against his master David. He, when he saw his counsel took no place, goes and hangs himself, in contemplation of this evil-favoured face of death. Judas also, when he came with ambushments to take his

* Rom. v. 12.

† Gen. ii. 17.

master Christ, in beholding this horrible face, hangs himself. Yea, the elect people of God, the faithful, having the beholding of this face, though God hath always preserved them, such a good God he is to them that believe in him, that 'he will not suffer them to be tempted above that that they are able to bear ;' * yet for all that, there is nothing that they complain of more sore than this horror of Death. Go to Job, what saith he ? ' Wo ' worth the day that I was born in ;' † saying, in his pangs, almost he wist not what. This was when, with the eye of his conscience, and the inward man, he beheld the horror of death and hell ; not for any bodily pain he suffered, for when he had biles, blotches, blains, and scabs, he suffered them patiently ; he could say then, ' If we have received good things of God, why should ' we not suffer likewise evil ?' ‡

It was not for any such thing that he was so vexed, but the sight of this face of death and hell was offered to him in a manner so lively, that he would rather have been out of the world : it was this ill-favoured face of Death that so troubled him. King David also said, in contemplation of this ugly face, ' I have been sore vexed with ' sighing and mourning : mine eye hath been greatly troubled in my grief.' § A strange thing ! when he had to fight with Goliath ; that monstrous giant, he could abide him, and was nothing afraid. And now what a work ! What exclamations maketh he at the sight of Death ! Jonas likewise was bold enough to bid the ship-men cast him into the sea ; he had not seen that face and visage ; but when he was in the whale's belly, and had there the beholding of it, what terror and distress abode he ! Hezekiah, when he saw Sennacherib besieging his city on every side, most violently, was nothing afraid of the great host and mighty army that was like to destroy him out of hand ; yet he was afraid of Death. When the prophet came unto him, and said, ' Set thy house in order, for

* I. Cor. x. 13.

† Job ii. 10.

‡ Job iii. 3.

§ Ps. xxxi. 9, 10

'thou shalt surely die and not live;'^{*} it struck him so to the heart, that he fell a weeping. O Lord, what horror was this! There be some writers say, that Peter, James, and John, were in this feeling at the same time; and that Peter, when he said, 'Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man,'[†] did taste some part of it: he was so astonished, he wist not what to say. It was not long that they were in this anguish; some say longer, some shorter: but Christ was ready to comfort them, and said to Peter, 'Be not afraid.' A friend of mine told me of a certain woman that was eighteen years together in it. I knew a man myself, Bilney,[‡] that blessed martyr of God, what time he bore his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such a conflict within himself, beholding this image of death, that his friends were afraid to let him be alone: they were fain to be with him day and night, and comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve. As for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man would run him through the heart with a sword; yet, afterward, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome. Woe will be to that bishop that had the examination of him, if he repent not.

Here is a goodly lesson for you, my friends: if ever you come in danger, in durance, in prison for God's sake (as he did for preaching the true word of God against pilgrimages, and such like matters) I will advise you first, and above all things, to abjure all your friends, all your friendships, leave not one unabjured; it is they that shall undo you, and not your enemies.

It was his very friends that brought Bilney to it. By this it may somewhat appear what our Saviour Christ suffered: he doth not dissemble it himself, when he saith, 'My soul is heavy unto death; he was in so fore an agony, that there issued from him,' as I shall observe anon, 'drops of blood.'

^{*} II. Kings xx. 1, &c.

[†] Luke v. 8.

[‡] See page 10.

A dreadful thing surely, that this fact and deed sheweth us, what horrible pains he was in for our sakes. But you will say, How can this be? Were it possible that I, and such other as be great finners, should suffer such affliction? The Son of God! What, our Saviour Christ, who never sinned! How can this stand, that he should be thus handled? He never deserved it.

Marry, I will tell you how: we must consider our Saviour Christ two ways, one way in his manhood, another in his Godhead. Some places of scripture must be referred to his Deity, and some to his humanity. In his Godhead he suffered nothing, but now he made himself void of his Deity; as scripture saith, 'Whereas he was 'in the form of God, he emptied himself of it;'^{*} he did hide it, and used himself as though he had not had it; he would not help himself with his Godhead; 'he humbled himself with all obedience unto death, even to the 'death of the cross:' this was in that he was man, 'he 'took upon him our sins:'[†] not the work of sin, I mean not so, not to do it, not to commit it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to bear the penalty of it: and that way he was the greatest sinner of the whole world; he bore all the sins of the world on his back;[‡] he would become debtor for it.

Now to sustain and suffer the dolours of death, is not to sin; but he came into this world to purge our sins with his passion. Now this that he suffered in the garden was one of the bitterest parts of all his passion; this fear of death was the bitterest pain that ever he endured, due to sin which he never did, but became debtor for us. All this he suffered for us; this he did to satisfy for our sins.

It is much like as if I owed another man twenty thousand pounds, and must pay it out of hand, or else go to the dungeon of Ludgate; and when I am going to prison,

^{*} Phil. ii. 6, 7. 'He emptied himself;' so the Greek *ἐκένωσεν*.

[†] Peter ii. 24.

[‡] Isa. liii. 6.

one of my friends should come, and ask, Whither goes this man? And, after he had heard the matter, should say, Let me answer for him, I will be surety for him; yea, I will pay all for him.

Such a part acted our Saviour Christ for us. If he had not suffered this, I, for my part, should have suffered, according to the weight and quantity of my sins, damnation. For the greater the sin is, the greater is the punishment in hell. He suffered for you and me, in such a degree, as is due to all the 'sins of the whole world.'* It was as if ye should imagine that one man had committed all the sins since Adam: you may be sure he should be punished with the same horror of death, in such a sort as all men in the world should have suffered.

Put the case that our Saviour Christ had committed all the sins of the world; all that I for my part have done, all that you for your parts have done, and that any man else hath done: if he had done all this himself, this agony that he suffered should have been no greater, nor more grievous, than it was. This that he suffered in the garden was a portion, I say, of his passion, and one of the bitterest parts of it: and this he suffered for our sins, and not for any sins he committed himself; for all we should have suffered, every man according to his own deserts.

This he did of his goodness, partly to purge and cleanse our sins; partly because he would taste and feel our miseries, that he should the rather help and relieve us; and partly he suffered to give us example to behave ourselves as he did. He did not suffer to discharge us clean from death, to keep us clean from it, not to taste of it. Nay, nay, you must not take it so: we shall have the beholding of this ugly face every one of us, we shall feel it ourselves.

Yet our Saviour Christ did suffer, to the intent, to signify to us that death is to be overcome. We shall indeed overcome it, if we repent and acknowledge that our

* I. John ii. 2.

Saviour Jesus Christ pacified, with his pangs and pains, the wrath of the Father, having a love to walk in the ways of God; if we believe in Jesus Christ, we shall overcome death; I say, it shall not prevail against us.

Wherefore, whensoever it happeneth to thee, my friend, to have the tasting of this death, that thou shalt be tempted with this horror of death, what is to be done then? Whensoever thou feelest thy soul heavy unto death, make haste and resort to this garden; and with this faith thou shalt overcome that terror when it cometh.

O, it was a grievous thing that Christ suffered here! Of the greatness of this anguish that he suffered in the garden, partly to make amends for our sins, and partly to deliver us from death; not so that we should not die bodily, but that this death should be a way to a better life, and to destroy and overcome hell. Our Saviour Christ had a garden, but he had very little pleasure in it. You have many goodly gardens, I wish you would in the midst of them consider what agony our Saviour Christ suffered in the garden. A godly meditation to have in your gardens: it shall occasion you to delight no further in vanities, but to remember what he suffered for you: it may draw you from sin: it is a good monument, a good monition, to consider how he behaved himself in the garden.

Well; he saith to his disciples, 'Sit here and pray with me.' He went a little way off, as it were a stone's cast from them, and falleth to his prayer, and saith, 'Father, if it be possible, take away this bitter cup.' Yet afterward he correcteth himself, and saith, 'Not my will, but thy will be done, O Father.' Here is a good meditation for Christian men at all times, and not upon Good Friday only: let every day be a Good Friday to a Christian, to know how to use Christ's passion to that end and purpose; not only to read the story, but to take the fruit of it.

Some men, if they had been in this agony would have run themselves through with their swords, as Saul did; some would have hanged themselves, as Achitophel did.

Let

Let us not follow these men, they be no examples for us; but let us follow Christ, who in his agony resorted to his Father with his prayer: this must be our pattern to act by.

Here I might dilate the matter as touching praying to saints: here we may learn not to pray unto saints. Christ biddeth us pray to 'Our Father that is in heaven,' to the Creator, and not to any creature: and therefore away with these advocates; let God alone be our advocate: what have we to do to run hither or thither, but only to the Father of heaven? I will not tarry to speak of this matter.

Our Saviour Christ set his disciples in order, and commanded them to watch and pray, saying, 'Watch and pray:' whereto should they watch and pray? He saith by and by, 'That ye enter not into temptation.' He biddeth them not pray that they be not tempted; for that is as much as to say, to pray that we should be out of this world. There is no man in this world without temptation: in the time of our prosperity we are tempted to wantonness, pleasures, and all lightness; in time of adversity, to despair in God's goodness. Temptation never ceases. There is a difference between being tempted, and entering into temptation. He biddeth therefore not to pray that they be not tempted, but that they 'enter not into temptation.' To be tempted is no evil thing.

For what is it? no more than when the flesh, the devil, and the world, doth solicit and move us against God. To give place to these suggestions, and to yield ourselves, and suffer ourselves to be overcome of them, that is to enter into temptation. Our Saviour Christ knew that they would be grievously tempted, and therefore he gave them warning, that they should not give place to temptation, nor despair at his death: and if they even forsook him, or run away, in case they tripped or swerved, yet to come again.

But our Saviour Christ did not only command his disciples to pray, but fell down upon his knees flat upon the
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the ground, and prayed himself, saying, 'Father, deliver me of this cup, this pain that I am in.' This word, Father, came even from the bottom of his heart, when he made his moan; as who should say, Father, rid me, I am in such pain that I can be in no greater! Thou art my Father, I am thy Son. Can the Father forsake his Son in such anguish? Thus he made his moan: Father, take away this horror of death from me, rid me of this pain, suffer me not to be taken when Judas cometh, suffer me not to be hanged on the cross, suffer not my hands to be pierced with nails, nor my heart with the sharp spear. A wonderful thing, that he should so oft tell his disciples of it before, and now, when he cometh to the point, to desire to be rid of it, as though he would have been disobedient to the will of his Father.

Before, he said he came to suffer, and now he saith, away with this cup. Who would have thought that ever this should have come out of Christ's mouth? What a case is this? What should a man say? You must understand, that Christ took upon him our infirmities, of the which this was one, to be sorry at death. Among the penalties of sin, this was one, to tremble at the cross; this is a punishment for our sin.

It goeth otherwise with us than with Christ; if we were in like case, and in like agony, we should almost curse God; or rather wish that there were no God. This that he said was not of that sort, it was referring the matter to the will of his Father: but we seek by all means, be it right, be it wrong, of our own nature to be rid out of pain; he desired it conditionally, as it might stand with his Father's will, adding a 'nevertheless' to it: for his request was to shew the infirmity of man. Here is now an example what we shall do when we are in like case. He never deserved it, we have. He had a nevertheless; notwithstanding; let us have so too: we must have a 'nevertheless, thy will be done, and not mine.' Give me grace to be content, to submit my will unto thine. His conduct teacheth us what to do. This is our chirurgery, our phyfic, when we be in agony; and

and reckon upon it, friends, we shall come to it, we shall feel it at one time or other.

What doth he now? What came to pass now? When he had heard no voice, his Father was silent; he resorts to his friends, seeking some comfort at their hands: he cometh to his disciples, and findeth them asleep; he spake unto Peter, and said, 'Ah, Peter, art thou asleep?' Peter before had boasted, as though he would have killed them all; and now, when he should have comforted Christ, he was asleep; he was fain to say to his disciples, 'Watch and pray; the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak:' he had never a word of them again.

They might at the least have said, O, Sir, remember yourself; are you not Christ? Came not you into this world to redeem sin? Be of good cheer, be of good comfort; this sorrow will not help you; comfort yourself by your own preaching: you have said, 'It behoveth the Son of Man to suffer:' you have not deserved any thing, it is not your fault. Indeed, if they had done this with him, they had acted a friendly part with him; but they gave him not so much as one comfortable word. We run to our friends in our distresses and agonies, as though we had all our trust and confidence in them: he did not so; he resorted to them, but trusted not in them: we will run to our friends, and come no more to God; he returned again. What! shall we not resort to our friends in time of need? And think ye we shall find them asleep? Yes, I warrant you; and when we need their help most, we shall not have it. But what shall we do when we shall find lack in them? we will cry out upon them, upbraid them, and chide them: but Christ did not so, he excused his friends, saying, 'Watch and pray; I see well the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak.' What meaneth this? surely it is a comfortable place; for as long as we live in this world, when we be at the best, we have no more but 'the readiness of the spirit with the infirmity of the flesh.' Even St. Paul said, 'My will is good, but I am not able to perform it.'

it.* I have been with some, and fain they would, fain they would; there was readines of spirit, but it grieved them that they could not take things as they should do: the flesh resisteth the work of the Holy Ghost in our hearts, and letteth it. We ought to pray ever to God. O, prayer! prayer! that it might be used in this realm, as it ought to be of all men, and especially of magistrates, of counsellors, of great rulers; to pray, to pray, that it would please God to put godly wisdom in their hearts!

I have heard say, when the good Queen that is gone had ordained in her house daily prayer, both before noon and after noon, the Admiral† getteth him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a covetous man, a covetous man indeed; I would there were no more in England: he was, I heard say, an ambitious man; I would there were no more in England: he was, I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer; I would there were no more in England. Well, he is gone; I would he had left none like him behind.

Remember, my Lords, that you pray in your houses to the better mortification of your flesh. Remember God must be honoured; I wish you to pray, that God will continue his spirit with you.—But now to the passion again.

Christ hath been with his Father, and felt no help: he had been with his friends, and had no comfort: he had prayed twice, and was not heard! what did he now; did he give prayer over? No; he goes again to his Fa-

* Rom. vii. 18.

† Thomas Seymour, the King's uncle, and younger brother to the Lord Protector, was appointed, by King Henry VIII. to assist in the government of the kingdom during the minority of King Edward VI. In the year 1547 he was created a Peer, and was made High Admiral of England, Ireland, &c. Soon after which, he caballed against his brother, the Lord Protector; but in this he failed, and in 1548 was beheaded. See page 26.

ther, and saith the same again ; ‘ Father, if it be possible, take away this cup.’ Here is an example for us ; although we be not heard at the first time, shall we give over our prayer ? Nay, we must go to it again ; we must be instant in prayer. He prayed thrice, and was not heard ; let us pray three-score times : folks are very dull now-a-days in prayer, to come to sermons, to resort to public prayer. Ye house-keepers, and especially great men, give example of prayer in your houses.

Well, did his Father look upon him this second time ? No, he went to his friends again, as if to find some comfort there, but he finds them again, deeper asleep than before. Their eyes were heavy with sleep. There was no comfort at all, they wist not what to say to him. A wonderful thing ; how he was tossed from post to pillar, one while to his Father, and was destitute at his hand ; another while to his friends, and found no comfort from them.

This, that the Father would not hear his own Son, was another punishment due to our sins. When we cry unto him, he will not hear us. The Prophet Jeremiah saith, ‘ They shall cry unto me, and I will not hear them.’* These be Jeremiah’s words, here he threateneth to punish sin, with not hearing their prayers : the Prophet saith, ‘ They have not had the fear of God before their eyes, nor have regarded discipline and correction.’† I never saw surely so little discipline as is now-a-days : men will be masters, they will be both masters and disciples.

Alas, where is this discipline now in England ! The people regard no discipline ; they be without all order. Where they should give place, they will not stir one inch : yea, where magistrates should determine matters, they will break into the place before they come, and at their coming not move a whit for them. Is this discipline ? Is this good order ? If a man say any thing unto them, they regard it not. They that be called to answer, will

* Jer. xi. 14.

† Jer. vii. 28.

not answer directly, but scoff the matter out. Men, the more they know, the worse they be; it is truly said, knowledge makes us proud, and causes us to forget all, and set aside discipline. Surely in popery they had a reverence, but now we have none at all; I never saw the like. This same lack of the fear of God and discipline in us, was one of the causes that the Father would not hear his Son. This pain suffered our Saviour Christ for us, who never deserved it. O what was it that he suffered in this garden, till Judas came! The dolours, the terrors, the sorrows that he suffered were unspeakable. He suffered, partly, to make atonement for our sins, and partly to give us example, what we shall do in like case. What cometh of this in the end?

Well, now he prayeth again; he resorteth to his Father again. He was in forer pains, in more anguish than ever he was; and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardently, more fervently, more vehemently, than ever he did before. O Lord, what a wonderful thing is this! this horror of death is worse than death itself. He prayeth now the third time. He did it so instantly, so fervently, that it brought out a bloody sweat, and in such plenty, that it dropped down even to the ground. There issued out of his precious body drops of blood. What a pain was he in, when these bloody drops fell so abundantly from him! Yet for all that, how unthankfully do we shew ourselves toward him that died only for our sakes, and for the remedy of our sins. O what blasphemy do we commit day by day! What little regard have we to his blessed passion, when we swear by God's blood, by Christ's passion! We have nothing in our pastime, but God's blood, God's wounds. We continually blaspheme his passion, in hawking, hunting, dicing, and carding. Who would think he should have such enemies among those that profess his name? What became of his blood that fell down, think ye? Was the blood of Hales any of it? * Wo worth

* This was a famous relic at Hales in Gloucestershire, and pretended to be the blood of our Saviour brought from Jerusalem, and there

it! What ado was there to get this out of the late King's head? This great abomination of the blood of Hales could not be taken for a great while out of his mind.

You that be of the court, and especially ye sworn chaplains, beware of a lesson that a great man taught me at my first coming to the court; he told me for good-will: he thought it well. He said to me, 'You must beware howsoever ye do, that ye contrary not the King; let him have his sayings, follow him, go with him.' Marry, out with this counsel: shall I say, as he saith? Say your conscience, or else what a worm shall ye feel gnawing; what a remorse of conscience shall ye have, when ye remember how ye have slacked your duty! It is a good wife saying, 'The drops of rain maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by oft falling.' Likewise a prince must be turned, not violently, but he must be won by little and little. He must have his duty told him; but it must be done with humbleness, with request of pardon, or else it were a dangerous thing. Unpreaching prelates have been the cause that the blood of Hales did so long blind the King. Wo worth that such an abominable thing should be in a Christian realm! but thanks be to God, it was partly redressed in the King's days that is dead, and much more now. God grant good-will

there preserved for many ages past. If any man was in mortal sin, and had not received absolution, he could not see the relic; which, otherwise, to any pious person, was visible enough. To prepare therefore for a sight of the miracle, it was the custom to confess to a priest, and make a suitable offering at the altar, before the relic was shewn. This pretended blood of our Saviour was kept in a crystal vessel, very thick on one side, but thin and transparent on the other. If a wealthy person appeared, they turned the thick side, where the eye could discern nothing: this, it is said, was done to open both his heart and his pocket. For when he had bought as many masses, and made offerings as far as they thought fit, they turned the thin side, and then the blood was visible to the eye. And this, as William Thomas, clerk of the council to King Edward VI. says, was nothing more than the blood of a duck, renewed every week. Yet this mighty relic excited the devotion and adoration of King Henry the eighth!

and power to go forward, if there be any such abomination behind, that it may utterly be rooted up !

O how happy are we, that it hath pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe that his Son should sweat blood for the atonement of our sins ! And again, how unhappy are we, if we will not take it thankfully, that were redeemed so painfully ! Alas, what hard hearts have we ! our Saviour Christ never sinned, and yet he sweat blood for our sins : we will not once water our eyes with a few tears. What an horrible thing is sin, that no other thing would remedy and pay the ransom for it, but only the blood of our Saviour Christ ! There was nothing to pacify the Father's wrath against man, but such an agony as he suffered : all the passion of all the martyrs that ever were, all the sacrifices of patriarchs that ever were, all the good works that ever were done, were not able to remedy our sins, to make satisfaction for our sins, nor any thing besides, but this extreme passion and blood-shedding of our most merciful Saviour Christ.

But to draw toward an end, what became of this three-fold prayer ? At the length, it pleased God to hear his Son's prayer ; and sent him an angel to strengthen and to comfort him. Christ needeth no angel's help, if he had chosen to help himself with his deity. He was the Son of God, what then ? Forso much as he was man, he received comfort at the angel's hand ; and his obedience, his continuance, and suffering, so pleased the Father of heaven, that for his Son's sake, the greatest sinner, leaving his sin, and repenting of the same, he will shew him such favour, as though he had never committed any sin.

The Father of heaven will not ' suffer him to be ' tempted with this great horror of death and hell, above ' that he is able to bear.' Look for it, my friend ; by him and through him, we shall be able to overcome it : let us do as our Saviour Christ did, and we shall have help from above, we shall have angels' help, if we trust in him, heaven and earth shall give up, rather than we shall lack help : he saith he is an helper in the time of need.

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When the angel had comforted him, and when this horror of death was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himself to Judas, and said, I am he. To make an end. The Jews had him to Caiaphas and Annas, and there they whipped him, and beat him; they set a crown of sharp thorns upon his head, and nailed him to a tree: yet all this was not so bitter as this horror of death, and this agony that he suffered in the garden, in such a degree as is due to all the sins of the world, and not to any one man's sins. Well, his passion is our remedy; it is the satisfaction for our sins. How inestimably are we bound unto him! What thanks ought we to give him for it! We must have this continually in remembrance, 'For thee we are in dying continually.' The life of a christian man is nothing but the readiness to die, and a remembrance of death.

Christian people should have his suffering for them in remembrance. Let your gardens admonish you, your pleasant gardens, what Christ suffered for you in the garden, and what benefit you have by his sufferings. It is his will ye should so do, he would be had in remembrance. Mix your pleasures with the remembrance of his bitter passion. His whole passion is satisfaction for our sins; and not his bare death, only. The manner of speaking of scripture is to be considered. It attributes our salvation now to one thing, now to another that Christ did; when indeed it pertained to all. Our Saviour Christ hath left behind him a remembrance of his passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lord's Supper; alas! it hath been long abused, as the sacrifices were before in the old law. The patriarchs used sacrifice, in the faith of the seed of the woman, which should break the serpent's head.* There came other after, and they considered not the faith of Abraham, and the patriarchs, but did their sacrifice according to their own imagination; even so it is come to pass with our blessed communion. In the primitive church, in

* Gen. iii. 15.

places when their friends were dead, they used to come together to the holy communion. What? to remedy them that were dead! No, not a straw; it was not instituted for any such purpose. But then they would call to remembrance God's goodness and his passion that he suffered for us, wherein they comforted much their faith.

Others came afterward, and set up all these kinds of massing, all these kinds of iniquity. What an abomination is it! the foulest that ever was, to attribute to man's work our salvation. God be thanked that we have this blessed communion set forth so now, that we may comfort, increase, and fortify our faith at that blessed celebration. If he be guilty of the body of Christ, that takes it unworthily; he fetches great comfort at it, that eats it worthily: he doth eat it worthily, that eateth it in faith. In faith! in what faith? Not long ago a great man said in my audience, 'They babble much of faith, I will go lie with my wench all night, and have as good a faith as the best of them all.' I think he never knew any other, but the whoremonger's faith. It is no such faith that will serve. It is no bribing judge's faith, no rent-raiser's faith, no whoremonger's faith, but faith in the passion of our Saviour Christ: we must believe that our Saviour Christ hath taken us again into his favour, that he hath delivered us by his own body and blood, and by the merit of his own passion, of his own mere bounty. This is the faith, I tell you, that we must come to the communion with, and not the whoremonger's faith. Look where remission of sin is, there is acknowledging of sin also. Faith is a noble dutchess, she hath ever her gentleman-usher going before her, the confessing of sins: she hath a train after her, the fruits of good works, the walking in the commandments of God. He that believeth will not be idle, he will walk, he will do his business; have ever the gentleman-usher with you: so if you will try faith, remember this rule, consider whether the train be waiting upon her. If you have another faith than this, a whoremonger's faith, you
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are like to go where you shall have only weeping and gnashing of teeth. If you will believe and acknowledge your sins, you shall come to the blessed communion of the bitter passion of Christ worthily, and so attain to everlasting life ; to the which the Father of heaven bring you and me ! *Amen.*

SERMON

S E R M O N XII.
THE TRIBUTE MONEY.

Preached at Stamford, Oct. 9, 1550.

MATTHEW XXV. 21.

*Give that that is Cæsar's to Cæsar, and that that is
God's to God.*

THIS doctrine is grievous, heavy, and irksome to covetous hearts. Give, give; they cannot away with it, it cannot settle in their stomachs; they would rather be taking, scraping, and catching, than giving: but godly persons will accept it, for it is to them a great pleasure, joy, and comfort. For the better understanding of this place, ye shall understand, Christ came to bring us out of bondage, and to set us at liberty; not from civil burdens, as from obeying the magistrates, from paying tax and tribute, but from a great burden, a more grievous burden, the burden of sin; the burden, not of the body, but of the soul; to make us free from it, and to redeem us from the curse and malediction of the law, unto the honourable estate of the children of God. But as for the civil burdens, he delivered us not from them, but rather commanded us to pay them. Give, give, saith he, to Cæsar obedience, tribute, and all things due to Cæsar.

For the understanding of this text, it shall be very needful to consider the circumstance going before; which thing duly considered, gives a great light to all places of the scripture; *who spake these words, to whom they were spoken, upon what occasion, and before whom.* Therefore

I will

I will take the whole narrative out of the Gospel of this day.* ‘Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel;’ Luke hath *observantes*,† marking, spying, watching, like subtle, crafty, and sly fellows, they took counsel, and sent to him their disciples, which should feign themselves just men, godly men, glad to learn his doctrine; and with them Herod’s servants, to trap him in his words: and they said to him, ‘Master, we know that thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God truly, and carest for no man: for thou regardest not the personage of man: tell us therefore; what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give Cæsar tribute-money, or no?’ This was their question that they would have snared him with. But Jesus, knowing their malice, their wickedness, their uncharitableness, said to them, ‘Ye hypocrites, why do ye tempt me? Shew me a piece of the tribute money. And they brought him a penny. And he said to them, Whose image is this, and the writing? They answered, Cæsar’s. He said to them, Give to Cæsar that that belongeth to Cæsar, and to God that that is God’s.’

Thus ye may perceive, it was our Saviour Christ that spake these words, and they were spoken to the Pharisees that tempted him: but they be a doctrine unto us, that are Christ’s disciples. For whose words should we delight to hear and learn, but the words and doctrine of our Saviour Christ?

And that I may at this time so declare them, as may be for God’s glory, your edifying, and my discharge, I pray you all to help me with your prayers. *Our Father, &c.*

‘THEN went the Pharisees,’ &c. it hangeth on a text before. Christ told them a similitude that the kingdom of heaven is like to a King that made a marriage for his son, and sent his servants out to bid his guests.‡ They would not come then, although he had made great

* Matt. xxii. 15, &c.

† Luke xx. 20. παρατηρησάντες,

‡ Matt. xxii. 2, &c.

preparing and much cost for them : ambition, covetousness, and cruelty would not let them come.

Then he sent his warriors and destroyed them ; and again and again sent other servants to bid guests to his marriage, come who would. They did as he bade them, and the house was full of guests. The King now would view his guests, and finding there one not clad in a marriage garment, he asked him ; ‘ Friend, how camest thou here, not having a marriage garment ? and commanded to bind him hand and foot, and cast him into utter darkness ; there was wailing and gnashing of teeth : for many be called, but few chosen.’ Now Christ expoundeth this : the kingdom of heaven is preaching of the gospel. This marriage is the joining of Christ and his church, which was begun by Christ here on earth, and shall continue to the end of the world. The bidders of his guests are preachers ; but here are so many lets and hindrances ; covetousness is a let, ambition is a let, cruelty is the greatest let ; for they beat his servants, yea murdered them. With this the King was angry, and sent his warriors to destroy those unthankful people. Was he not angry with covetousness and with ambition ? Yes he is angry with covetous men, with ambitious men, but most of all with cruelty. This is an anger above common anger, when men be not only unthankful, but also add cruelty, to persecute the preachers that come to call us to this marriage.

This touched God so nigh, that he saith, ‘ He that toucheth you, toucheth me.’* This cruelty the King would not leave unpunished, but sent forth his warriors. They are called his warriors, for wars come at his commandment. Titus and Vespasian were sent of God to punish those covetous Jews, ambitious Jews, cruel Jews, that would not credit Christ, nor believe the preaching of salvation. Now in war, what party soever gets the victory, that is, in some sense, God’s host. Nebuchadnezzar was an evil man, a wicked man, yet was he sent

* Zech. ii. 8.

of God to punish the stubborn and covetous Jews for their ambition and cruelty, and forsaking God's most holy word; and he is called in scripture, 'God's servant.*' It is no good argument; he hath the victory, therefore he is a good man. But this is a good argument; he hath the victory, therefore God was on his side, and by him punished the contrary party.

The preachers called good and bad; they can do no more than call, God is he that must bring in; God must open the hearts, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles. When Paul preached to the women, there was a silk-woman, whose heart God opened.† None could open it but God: Paul could but only preach, God must work, God must do the thing inwardly. But good and bad came. Therefore the preacher is likened to a fisher's net that catcheth good fish and bad, and draweth all to the shore. In the whole multitude that profess the gospel, all be not good, all cannot away with the mortifying of their flesh; they will with good-will bear the name of Christians, of Gospellers; but to do the deeds they grudge, they repine, they cannot away with it. Among the apostles all were not honest, nay, one was a devil; so among a great many Gospellers, some are Card-gospellers, some are Dice-gospellers, some are Pot-gospellers; all are not good, all seek not amendment of life.

Then cometh the King to see his guests, and findeth one not having the marriage garment, and saith to him, 'Friend, how camest thou hither, and hast not the marriage garment?' Faith is the marriage garment, not a feigned faith without good living, but faith that worketh by love. He was blamed because he professed one thing, and was indeed another. Why did he not blame the preachers? There was no fault in them, they did their duties; they had no farther commandment but to call them to the marriage; the garment he should have sought himself. Therefore he blameth not the preachers —

* Jer. xliii. 10,

† Acts xvi. 14.

‘What doth this fellow here? Why suffered ye him to ‘enter?’ For their commission extended no farther but to call him. Many are grieved that there is so little fruit of their preaching: and when they are asked, Why do you not preach, having so great gifts given you of God? I would preach, say they, but I see so little fruit, so little amendment of life, that it maketh me weary. A naughty answer, a very naughty answer. Thou art troubled with that God gave thee no charge of, and leavest undone that thou art charged with. God commands thee to preach; and if thou speak not, if thou warn not the wicked, that they turn and amend, they shall perish in their iniquities; ‘But,’ saith God, ‘his blood will I require at thy ‘hand.’ This text toucheth to the quick. He shall die in his wickedness, but I will require his blood at thy hand. Harken well to this; mark it well, ye curates; ‘I will ask his blood at thy hand.’ If you do not your office, if ye teach not the people, and warn them not, you shall be damned for it. If you do your office, you are discharged. Warn them therefore to leave their wickedness, their covetousness, their ambition, their cruelty, unmercifulness, &c. and thou hast saved thine own soul. For there was no quarrel with the preachers, but he was cast into prison, ‘where was weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth. Many are called, but few ‘are chosen.’ To this parable now joineth this gospel: ‘Then went the Pharisees out.’ The Pharisees were a sect of religion among the Jews, reputed most perfect, holy, learned, and godly men, even such as in holiness exceeded all other, (so much did their hypocrisy prevail) as our monks were of late amongst us, and be yet in other places. They were in God’s bosom, even at heaven gates, in the sight of the world; but inwardly superstitious, hypocritical, hollow-hearted dissemblers. Now at this time I know none more like them than the hypocritical, hollow-hearted Papists. The name is changed, but the thing remaineth. Therefore they may well be

* Ezek. iii. 18.

called by the name that keep the thing. These were enemies to Christ and his doctrine. They would be ordered by old customs, and forefathers; and to maintain their traditions, set aside the commandments of God, refused Christ and his word.

St. Luke hath *observantes*, observants; that is, watchers, spies, much like the Observant Friars, the barefoot friars that were here; * which, indeed, were the Bishop of Rome's spies, watching in every country, what was said or done against him: he had it quickly by one or other of his spies, they were his men altogether. In the court, in the noblemens' houses, in every merchant's house, those Observants were spying, watching, and prying, what they might hear or see against the See of Rome. Take heed of these Observants.

Well, 'They took counsel;' some goodly thing, some weighty matter, I am sure, that these holy fathers consult upon. It must needs be for the common wealth, and the profit of many, that these holy fathers came together. It was to snare or trap him in his words: this was their device, this was their counsel. To this end they gathered such a company of holy fathers; a council! a council!

Bonum est concilium, said one: Yea, marry, quoth the other, *sed bonorum*. A council is good: yea, Sir, if it be of good men. For else, what is a council, if it be wicked, of wicked men? If they say, This was done by a council, determined in a council; what is it the better, if the council be wicked? The Nicene * council was gathered of a great number of bishops and learned men, yet had not one man been there, they had determined contrary to God's word. They were minded and earnestly

* A branch of the order of the Franciscan or Grey Friars, so called, because they bound themselves more especially to a strict observation of the rules of their profession. They were also called Observantins. Some of this order, in greater humility and mortification, used to go bare-footed.

† This was the first general council, and was held in the year 325, by order of Constantine the Great, in the city of Nice, in Bythinia. It consisted of 365 bishops, among whom were several British bishops.

bent to make a decree, that no priest should marry: but one old man, and unmarried himself, withstood that act, and turned the council's mind, so that they meddled not with that decree. And why? more credence is to be given to one man having the holy word of God for him, than to ten thousand without the word. If it agree with God's word, it is to be received; if it agree not, it is not to be received; though a council, yea, though an angel from heaven, had determined it. Truth it is, that Christ granteth to a congregation, gathered in his name, to be amongst them, yea, though it be but two or three. There is as much granted to two or three, as to ten thousand, so they come in Christ's name. 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'* In my name much wickedness is done, that is, in the name of the Lord. When they come together seeking their own private lust, pleasures, and ambitious desires, it is not in the name of the Lord. But to seek God's glory, Christ's glory, Christ's true religion, that is in the name of Christ; and then they are to be heard. But what was these mens' counsel? 'That they might ensnare him in what he should say:' to snare or entangle him in his words, that they might enforce somewhat against him. These were wily spies, sly children, children of the world, and craftily they handled their matters. 'They sent their disciples with the Herodians.' They would not go themselves, lest they might have been known, but he knew not their disciples, as they thought. And they went not alone, but had with them Herod's soldiers, Herod's favourers. This Herod was an Idumean, and was appointed by the Romans to govern the Jews, and to gather the tribute-money: therefore he was hated among the Jews, and so were those that favoured the Romans part, and in disdain they were called Herodians. Now was the time come, that the holy patriarchs prophesied, that the scepter and kingdom was removed, and Christ was born. This they should have

* Matt. xviii. 20.

marked, and received his doctrine : but they went about to destroy him, and therefore they brought the Herodians with them. Here now is an agreement in wickedness between the Pharisees and the Herodians against the truth, against Christ, against God's word, they agree together ; whereas, indeed, neither loved the other, but hated each other as a toad. So many, now-a-days, of our pharisees, papists, in destroying the truth they agree wondrous well, whereas in private matters they hate one another as a toad.

Here cometh now these holy fathers from their council, and send their disciples with the Herodians ; mark their behaviour, and mark Christ's behaviour. They came flattering and with low curtesy, as though they would creep into his bosom ; as for Herod's men, they meddle not, but stand by to hear the tale as witnesses, and if he should speak any thing amiss, be ready to lay hands upon him. They would fain rid him and destroy him, but they would turn the envy of the deed upon Herod, so that they would be seen faultless. It had been more meet for them to have counselled how to amend their faults, and to have come to Christ to learn his doctrine, than to study maliciously to trap him and to destroy him. What said they ? ' Master, we know that thou art a true man, and teacheth the way of God truly.' Master, we know that thou art Tell-truth, and thou tellest the very truth, and sparest no man. Thou art plain Master Tell-truth. Goodly words ! but out of a cankered stomach and malicious heart. Smiling speakers creep into a man's bosom ; they love, and make all to love him ; they favour his word, and call him Master, and yet would gladly see him hanged. These are indeed hypocrites, one in heart, and another in mouth : ' We know that thou art a true man, and that thou teachest the way of God in truth.' Yea, this is God's way, taught truly. There is God's way, and man's way. Many teach mens' way, but that should not be. Many teach God's way, and shall preach a very good and godly sermon, but at the last they would have a blanched almond,

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one little piece of popery patched in, to powder the matter with, for their own lucre and glory. They make a mangling of the way of God and man's way together, a mingle-mangle, as men call it in my country. Christ did not so; he taught the way of God truly without mixture. So should we preachers be true men, preachers of God's way truly, without regard of person; that is, for man's pleasure corrupting the word with man's invention and traditions.

Here may patrons of benefices learn upon what manner of man they should bestow their benefice: upon a true man, a teacher. He may not be to learn when he should teach others; but one learned, able to teach, able and well willing to discharge his cure. But what do you patrons? Sell your benefices, or give them to your servants for their service, for keeping of hounds, or hawks, for dressing your gardens. These patrons regard no souls, neither their own nor other mens'. What care they for souls, so they have money, though they perish, though they go to the devil? Whereas, indeed, the office of a patron is to have a care, a zeal, a vigilant eye, for souls' health, and to provide for his churches, that he is patron of, that they might be taught in God's word. Truly, many now-a-days, strive to be patrons of benefices, and go to law who should be patron. And what strive they for, think ye? Even which of them shall go to the devil first: for they regard not the health of souls, nor the office of preaching, the office of salvation; whereas, indeed, therefore are they patrons to look to it, and to see it be provided for. God of his goodness and almighty power might ordain other ways and means of salvation; but this office of preaching is it that God hath ordained, as St. Paul saith: 'Whereas the world by its wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save those that believe.' Not that it was foolish indeed, but that the wise men of the world did so esteem and take the preaching of the gospel; whereas, indeed, it is most godly wisdom: and the preaching office is the office of salvation, and the only means that God hath appointed to

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salvation : those that believe be saved by this holy office of preaching. I would wish it were better looked unto and provided for, and that patrons and bishops should see more diligently to it, than hath been done aforetime. I would ask no more diligence to this office of salvation, than men are wont to bestow upon their worldly pleasures, and lucre, and commodities ; nay, would they bestow but half the labour and pains, and some little part of their expences, it were well.

To consider what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more is to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. It may well be said by us, as the Lord complaineth by his prophet, ' My house ye have deserted, and ye run every one to his own house.'* What is Christ's house but Christian souls? But who maketh any provision for them? Every man scrapeth and getteth together for this bodily house, but the soul's health is neglected. Schools are not maintained ; scholars have no exhibition ; the preaching office decayeth ; men provide land and riches for their children, but this most necessary office they, for the most part, neglect. Very few there be that help poor scholars, that set their children to school to learn the word of God, and to make provision for the age to come. This, notwithstanding, is the only way to salvation : God will not devise any new way, as far as I perceive ; but would have us to use this way ordained already. This preaching way we ought to use, and not to look for any new way ; this office of salvation we ought to maintain, and not look for any other. My request is, that ye would bestow as much to the maintenance of this necessary office of salvation, as ye were wont to bestow in times past upon Romish trifles, and things of man's traditions. Neither do I now speak of myself and my convent, as the begging friars were wont to do ; I have enough, I thank God, and I need not to beg : I would every preacher were as well provided as myself

* Hag. i. 9.

through this realm, as indeed I think them as well worthy as myself; I wish, I say, ye would bestow as much upon this necessary office of salvation, as in times past ye bestowed in pilgrimages, in images, in gilding, painting, in masses, dirges, trentals, chantries, and such like vain things of the Romish Pharisees inventing: ye would do that without calling; and to this you will not be ready when ye be called? If it be no better in time to come, than hitherto looked unto, then England will at the last bewail it. Christ knew what a charge hangeth on this necessary office of preaching, the office of salvation, and therefore most earnestly applied to it himself: and when he chose his twelve apostles to send them forth unto this office, he first prayed all the night. He being God Almighty with the Father, might have given all gifts fit for this office; but to teach us, he would first pray all night. Here is good matter for bishops and patrons to look upon, and not to regard so little whom they give their benefices unto, or whom they admit to cure the souls they have charge of. A notable example! Christ prayed all night ere he would send them forth, ere he would put them in this preaching office, this most necessary office of salvation: for he saw that they had need of great zeal to God, and to souls' health, that should take upon them to keep souls; and a bold courage and spirit that should rebuke the world of their sin and wickedness.

Many will chuse now such a curate for their souls, as they may call fool; rather than one that shall rebuke their covetousness, ambition, unmercifulness, uncharitableness; that shall be sober, discreet, apt to reprove and resist the gainfayers with the word of God.

These be the properties of every good preacher, to be a true man, to teach, not dreams, nor inventions of men, but, 'The way of God truly; and not to regard the persons of men:' not to creep into his bosom; to say to the wicked he doth well; for filthy lucre's sake. Ah, these flatterers! no greater mischief in the commonwealth, than these flatterers. But who would have discerned this, but our Saviour Jesus Christ? He spied them

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out, and knew all their malicious hearts, their uncharitable hearts, their dissembling hearts, and said, 'Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?'

Hypocrites! hypocrites! hypocrites! one in heart, another in mouth; fair in pretence, but full of mischief, and malicious hatred within. He saw what was within, ye hypocrites! They put forth their question; 'Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not?'

A perilous question to answer to. This was the fruit of their counsel, and this was the snare laid for him. What should he do now; hold his peace? That had been a slander to his doctrine. They would have said; Lo, how ignorant he is in the law, that hath no answer to this simple and plain question. If he affirm, and pay the tribute, he shall incur the hatred of the people, and seem to speak in favour of the Romans: if he should have denied it, then had they that they sought for: the Herodians were ready to lay hands upon him, to have him to Bocardo;* to prison with him, a traitor that speaketh against Cæsar; away with this seditious fellow.

O Lord, what peril is it to have to do with these hypocrites! Who could have escaped this snare but Christ only, which is the wisdom of the Father, and knew all their maliciousness and crafty flights? And as he then by his wisdom overcame them, so now, doubtless, he giveth wisdom to all his, to spy out and beware of their subtle crafts. For such trains, traps, snares, and subtleness, as these Pharisees laid for Christ, such have our pharisaical papists laid for Christ's preachers. But he mercifully ever fulfilled his promise: 'I will,' saith Christ, 'give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist.'† They shall not be tongued, they have their answer, yea, so wise, that their adversaries shall not be able to resist. They may oppress

* An Italian word, signifying a dungeon, or close prison, and the name of the common prison at Oxford.

† Luke xxi. 15.

them here, in this world, with power, but they cannot be able to overcome them with arguments of truth; no, all the pack of adversaries, with all their subtleties, snares, and gins. They may rail upon it, as in many places lewd fellows do against priests marriages; 'the dame, his wife, his harlot,' &c.

But they cannot deny it by any scripture, but that the marriage of priests is as good and godly, as the marriage of any other man: for 'wedlock is honourable among all men, and the bed undefiled:'* and 'to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife.'† Well, let them rail, let them do what they can against the truth; mark the end, look upon the end: the end is, all adversaries of the truth must be confounded and come to nought, neither shall they be able to resist it. And though the poor disciples be troubled, vexed, and persecuted; mark the end. The highest promotion that God can bring his unto in this life, is to suffer for his truth: and it is the greatest setting forth of his word, it is God's feed. And one suffering for the truth turneth more than a thousand sermons. I will tell you an example of this, how God giveth mouth and wisdom:

I was once in examination before five or six bishops,‡ where I had much trouble: every week thrice I came to examination, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now, God knoweth, I was ignorant of the law; but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak: it was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined, in a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined, but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered; for, whereas, before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanging over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end; so that I stood between the table and the chimney's end. There was among these bishops that examined me, one with whom

* Heb. xiii. 4.

† I. Cor. vii. 2.

‡ See page 17.

I had

I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end.

Then, among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer; 'I pray you, Master Latimer, faith he, speak out, I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and give an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answers, for they made sure work that I should not start from them; there was no starting from them.

God was my good Lord, and gave me answer, I could never else have escaped it. The question was this: 'Master Latimer, do you not think, on your conscience, that you have been suspected of heresy?' A subtle question, a very subtle question. There was no holding of peace would serve: to hold my peace, had been to grant myself faulty: to answer it, was every way full of danger. But God, which alway hath given me answer, helped me, or else I could never have escaped it, and delivered me from their hands. Many a one has had the like gracious deliverance, and been endued with God's wisdom, and God's spirit, which all their adversaries could not resist.

'Shew me,' said he, 'a penny of tribute-money.' They laid snares to destroy him, but he overturneth them in their own traps: 'He taketh the wise in their own craftiness,'* but not maliciously to destroy them, as they maliciously would have seen him hanged, but mercifully to turn them from their wicked imaginations, that they might consider that no wisdom, subtle crafts, nor counsel, prevaileth against the Lord; so repent and become new men. And they brought him a piece of their current coin, that was worth ten of our usual pence,

* Job v. 13.

such another piece as our testoon;* and he said, 'Whose image is this, and superscription?' They said, 'Cæsar's:' for now was Jewry brought under the bondage of the Romans, and therefore used they the Roman coins, and had upon it both Cæsar's image, and Cæsar's superscription. The answer of Jesus; 'Pay to Cæsar what is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God.'

Make not a mingle-mangle of them, but give to God his own, give Cæsar his own. To God give thy soul, thy faith, thy hope, thy obedience of mind, to keep his word, and frame thy life thereafter. To Cæsar give tribute, tax, subsidy, and all other duties pertaining to him; as to have him in thy honour and reverence, and to obey his just laws and righteous commandments.

But because the time is past, I will here make an end for this forenoon, desiring you to pray to God for his help; for in the afternoon I purpose to begin again at this text, and to go forth as God shall give me his grace. Now let us all say together the Lord's prayer: '*Our Father which art in heaven,*' &c.

* See note, page 133. The Roman penny is now commonly valued at seven pence halfpenny.

SERMON

S E R M O N XIII.
THE TRIBUTE MONEY.

Preached in the Afternoon of the same day.

MATTHEW XXV. 21.

*Give that that is Cæsar's to Cæsar, and that that is
God's to God.*

YE may perceive by that we have said, *who* spake these words, and upon *what* occasion they were spoken. Our Saviour Christ spake them to the tempting Pharisees, willing them to know their duty by their own confession, and to give to Cæsar his due, and to God his due. Our Saviour Christ spake them: if he spake them, we ought to regard them. Regard them, I say, and make much of them, for though they were then spoken to them, yet in them they were spoken to all the world. I use to make a rehearſal of that I spake before, but because the time is ſhort, I will omit it. The ſervice muſt be done, and the day goeth faſt away; therefore I will to my matter, and leave the rehearſal.

These words be words of great importance, and ſhould be well conſidered; for he that doeth this, receiveth great benefit by it, but he that doeth it not, incurreth great damage and danger. The occaſion was a counſel taken among theſe holy fathers to ſnare Chriſt: a good and charitable deed! yet were they holy men, holy fathers, full of charity up to the head and ears. This they learned in their council, and this now they ſet on foot. But Chriſt now cauſeth them to make answer to their own queſtion, as he did alſo a little before. When he
was

was come up into Jerusalem, and had driven the buyers and sellers out of the temple, the Arch-Pharisees; Provincials,* and Abbot-Pharisees, came stoutly to him as he was preaching in the temple, and said to him, 'By what authority doest thou these things? Who hath given thee this authority?'† We have the rule of the people of God, we have given thee no such authority.

A wondrous thing, Christ hath testimony of his Father; 'This is my beloved Son, hear him.'‡ John had borne him witness, saying, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.'§ His works and miracles were testimonies that his doctrine was of God. Well, all this would not serve: he must have licence of these holy fathers, or else all is nothing worth. Christ answered not directly to their question, but asked them another question, and made them give answer against themselves, and as it were with one wedge driveth out another; 'The baptism of John, was it of God, or of man?' Here he driveth them to confess his doctrine to be of God: for John, whom they could not deny to be sent of God, bore witness that his doctrine was true. If they had confessed this, he would have inferred, Why believe ye him not? If they should have said, John was not of God, then would all the people have been against them; yea, in a hurly-burly have stoned them. This they thought within themselves, and yet their malicious hearts would not humble to confess the truth: nay, rather like wise gentlemen, they answered, 'We know not, we cannot tell.'

These Arch-Pharisees thought nothing might be done or taught without their licence, nor otherwise but as they pleased to interpret. They were like our religious and clergy, that thought nothing might be taught but as they pleased; they would pay no tribute, tax, nor custom: they had their immunities, privileges, and grants, as we

* A Provincial is a superior of all the religious houses of the same order in a province.

† Matt. xxi. 23.

‡ Matt. iii. 17.

§ John is 29.

have, from the Romish bishop. And to maintain this they alledged many scriptures, as this ; ‘ Touch not mine anointed,’ or ‘ consecrated people.’* Which words the Lord spake of the Israelites in Egypt, warning King Pharaoh to leave and cease from persecuting the Israelites ; and it maketh as much for our clergy’s immunity, and proveth it as well, as if a man alledged, *Quem terris pontus*, to prove that an ape had a tail. Well, they answered, ‘ Cæsar’s ;’ they confessed it was Cæsar’s money, and Cæsar’s image and writing upon it. Here Christ compelled them to make answer to their own question ; and if envy should arise, to take it to themselves, for they confessed it to be Cæsar’s. Then said he, ‘ Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar’s, and to God what is due to God.’ This answer of Christ I would have you to learn : Give to your Cæsar, to your King, to our most noble King Edward, appointed and given to us of God, give to him that which is due to him. This is a commandment of God, as well as these : ‘ Thou shalt not murder. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbours.’ And as thou art bound upon peril of thy soul to obey the other ; so upon peril of thy soul thou art bound to obey and keep this. Look well upon it, for it is upon peril of thy soul.

‘ Give ;’ a heavy word to a covetous heart, to a rebellious heart ; they would not hear *give*, but take, catch, keep fast. We are all bound to live in obedience unto our King, under his just and righteous laws and commandments. Christ came indeed to deliver us from our burdens and bondage, but that was not from civil and political laws and obedience. He came to deliver us from the greatest bondage that can be, from sin and damnation. The heaviest burden that can be is sin ; and in comparison of it, all other burdens are light and easy matters to bear. Therefore Christ came to deliver us from that ; and gave his body to be torn upon the cross

* Pf. cv. 15.

for that. Neither could any work, or law, or sacrifice redeem us from that, but Christ only.

I never preached in Lincolnshire before, nor came here before, save once when I went to take orders at Lincoln, which was a good while ago; therefore I cannot say much of Lincolnshire, for I know it not: but I dare say, if Lincolnshire be as other places that I know, this text condemneth a great many of Lincolnshire, for breaking this commandment; 'Give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar, and to God that which is due to God.'

The office of a magistrate is grounded upon God's word, and is plainly described of St. Paul, writing unto the Romans, where he shews that all souls, that is to say, all men, ought to obey magistrates, for they are ordained of God; and to resist them, is to resist against God.

'For he is God's minister, ordained to punish the wicked, and to maintain the good.* Wherefore we ought to pay to him tribute, custom, taxes, and other things that he requires of us, as Christ saith here: to give to Cæsar. How much we should give, Christ defineth not, because he was not the emperor's treasurer, but went about another vocation, to preach unto the people their duty, and exhort them to obey their governors.

In the cardinal's† time men were put to their oaths, to swear what they were worth. It was a sore thing, and a thing I would not wish to be followed. O Lord, what perjury was in England by that swearing! I think this realm fareth the worse yet for that perjury. For doubtless many a one willingly and wittingly foreswore themselves at that time. It is a dear time, thou wilt say, and men have much ado to live: therefore it is good policy to set myself much less than I am: well, that is thy worldly policy, and with it thou runnest into the curse of God for breaking his word and commandment; 'Give to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar.'

I will tell thee a good policy to keep thy stock, and to maintain thine estate: not a policy of the world, but of

* Rom. xiii. 1—6.

† Cardinal Wolfey.

God's word, and it is this ; ' Seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness of it ; and all these things shall be given to you.* Dost thou not believe this to be true ? Is Christ an untrue man, a dissembler ? The pharisees make him a true man, and we make him a false varlet. He is a true man, and his words and promises are true. Nay, we be false and hollow-hearted, and therefore justly punished. For if we would credit his words, they would without doubt be abundantly fulfilled.

When we pray for things unto Almighty God, what ask we ? do we ask forthwith at the first our necessities ? Nay, Christ taught us first to pray ; ' Our Father, which art in heaven ; hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven, &c.' First, we pray in these petitions for faith, hope, and charity ; that God's honour may in all things be set out among us ; and then we pray afterwards for bodily things. But now we leave these petitions, and would have our daily bread first ; if we have that, we enforce little of the other. We will not say in words, that we think God false, but in deeds we plainly affirm it ; for we trust him not, neither believe his promise when he biddeth us, ' Give, give ; I will bless ye, I will make good my word.' Nay, nay, we will scrape together, and catch and pull to us all that we may get. Some men, saith Solomon, ' divide their own goods ;' they pay the King his duty, every man his own, give alms, ' and yet are more rich,' they have enough and enough. ' Others rob other men,' and scrape all that they may come by, never content, never enough, heap to heap, and ' yet they are always beggars,†

' He that blesteth shall be fat and weakly ;' he that blesteth helping the poor people, he shall be blessed and ever have enough ; God will bless him, God will increase him. And indeed so ought men to consider their gifts and goodness to be given, that their abundance might

* Matt. v. 33.

† Prov. xi. 24, 25

succour the necessity, poverty, and misery of their poor neighbours, and not to waste it, or consume it in riot and excess; but in deeds of mercy, in deeds of charity, and pity upon the poor. 'He that hath mercy upon the poor, he lendeth unto the Lord.*' This is a good usury, to make God thy debtor. Many lend upon worldly usury, which is surely a very wicked thing, and God forbiddeth it. This usury God commandeth, and promiseth to supply the lack of it in thy coffers. He will be debtor, he will be paymaster. Thou shalt not find thy stock diminished at the year's end by keeping God's commandment, but rather blessed and increased, 'Give therefore unto the King what is due unto the King; and give to God, that which is God's.' What is God's? that you give at God's bidding. The tithes, oblations, first-born beasts, and sacrifice cattle, all which God appointed unto the Jews to the maintenance of their church-ministers, of the clergy, poor widows, fatherless children, and maintenance of poor scholars. This was the cause that God assigned the Jews to pay their tithes, and until the coming of Christ they were due by God's law, and might by the law given by Moses be claimed. But now that law is at an end, neither can they be claimed any more by the law. Notwithstanding, now in the time of the New Testament, the people be bound to provide a sufficient living for the ministers, they that preach the gospel; this is the ministry of salvation, preaching of the gospel; and unto such ministers, ye be bound to give a sufficient living: as St. Paul saith, 'Give part to him that teacheth you, in all good things;† give him part of all your good, see he have sufficient living.

There be many that turn this text clean contrary; for they yield to Cæsar that which is God's, and to God that which is Cæsar's. They had money enough to build monasteries, chantries, &c. They would worship God with copes, torches, tapers, and a hundred things

* Prov. xix. 17.

† Gal. vi. 6.

more,

more, that God never required at their hands. God requireth their hearts to fear him, and love him, and studiously to walk before him; but this inward service we will not give him: nay, we give Cæsar our heart, and God our outward service. God should possess our whole hearts, and we should most studiously walk every man in his vocation, according to the word of God, according to his commandments, obeying our King, and succouring the poor and needy, as he hath commanded us. And this is God's true service, and the thing that belongeth to God.

If this be true, what is become of our forefathers?—I answer, it is a vain and unprofitable question, either it needs not, or it boots not. Whatsoever they did, let us do well, let us keep God's word, God's commandments, and then are we safe.

When one dieth, we must have bells ringing, singing, and much ado. But to what purpose? Those that die in the favour of God are well, those that die out of the favour of God, this can do them no good; 'Where the tree falleth, there it shall remain.'* Study therefore to live in the favour and grace of God, in repentance, in amendment of life; and then thou shalt do well. Further, to the question of our forefathers, God knoweth his elect, and diligently watcheth and keepeth them, so that all things serve to their salvation. The nature of fire is to burn all that is laid in it; yet God kept the three young men in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moses saw a bush on fire, but it burnt not. So false doctrine burneth as the fire, it corrupteth. But God kept his elect, that they were not corrupted with it, but always put their trust in one everliving God, through the death of Jesus Christ our Lord. In Elias's time idolatry and superstition reigned; so that Elias said, 'Lord, they have destroyed thine altars, and slain thy prophets (or preachers) and I am left alone.'† But the Lord answered him; 'I have reserved to myself seven thousand

* Eccles. xi. 3.

† I. Kings xix. 10.

' men

men that have not bowed their knees to Baal :’ so God, I trust, reserved our forefathers, in so perilous times, more graciously than we can think.

Let us thank God then for the gracious light of his word sent unto us, and pray for our gracious King and his council, that set it forth unto us. And for our forefathers, seeing we have no charge given us of God, leave them to God’s mercy, who disposeth better for them than we can wish.

But some will say now ; Why need we preachers then ? God can save his elect without preachers. A goodly reason. God can save my life without meat and drink, need I none therefore ? God can save me from burning if I were in the fire, shall I run into it therefore ? No, no ; I must keep the way that God hath ordained, and use those ordinary means that God hath assigned, and not seek new ways. This office of Preaching is the only ordinary way that God hath appointed to save us all by. Let us maintain therefore this necessary office of salvation, pay to the Ministers the things appointed them ; maintain scholars and schools, help the poor widows and fatherless children, study to do good while we have time in this present life ; so shall the Lord in this life bless us, and after this life give us eternal life, through Jesus Christ ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all laud and honour. *Amen.*

SERMON

S E R M O N XIV.

OF COVETOUSNESS.

Preached before King Edward VI. and his most honourable Council, in his Court at Westminster, 1550.

LUKE xii. 15.

Take heed and beware of covetousness.

TAKE heed and beware of covetousness: take heed and beware of covetousness: take heed and beware of covetousness.' And what if I should say nothing else, these three hours, but these words 'Take heed and beware of covetousness;' it would be thought a strange sermon before a King to say nothing else but 'Beware of covetousness.' And yet as strange as it is, it would be like the sermon of Jonah, that he preached to the Ninevites, as touching the shortness and fewness of the words: for his sermon was, 'There is yet forty days to come, and Nineveh shall be destroyed.*' Thus he walked from street to street, and from place to place round about the city, and said nothing else, but 'There is yet forty days,' quoth he, 'and Nineveh shall be destroyed.' There is no great difference neither in the sense or meaning between these two sermons: 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed;' and these words, 'Take heed and beware of covetousness.' For Nineveh should be destroyed for sin, and of their sins covetousness was one, and one of the greatest; so that it

* Jonah iii. 4, &c.

is all one in effect. And as they be alike in brevity and meaning, so I would they might be alike in fruit and profit. For what came of Jonah's sermon? What was the fruit of it? 'At the preaching of Jonah they believed God.' Here was great fruit, a great effect wrought. What was it? They believed in God; they believed God's minister, Jonah, and were converted from their sin. They believed that, as the preacher said, if they did not repent and amend their life, the city should be destroyed within forty days. This was a great fruit! for Jonah was but one man, and he preached but one sermon, and it was but a short sermon neither, and yet he turned all the whole city, great and small, rich and poor, King and all.

We be many preachers here in England, and we preach many long sermons, yet the people will not repent nor turn. This was the good that his sermon did, that all the whole city at his preaching converted, and amended their loose living, and did penance in sackcloth. And yet here in this sermon of Jonah is no great curiousness, no great learning, no great affectation of words, not painted eloquence; it was none other but 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed;' it was no more. This was no curious sermon, but this was a rough sermon, a sharp biting sermon. Do you not here marvel that these Ninevites cast not Jonah into prison, that they did not revile him, nor rebuke him? They did not revile him, nor rebuke him; but God gave them grace to hear him, and to amend at his preaching. A strange matter, so noble a city to give place to one man's sermon! Now England cannot abide this, they cannot be content to hear God's minister, and his threatening for their sins, though the sermon be never so good, though it be never so true. He is a seditious fellow, he maketh trouble and rebellion in the realm; he lacketh discretion. But the Ninevites rebuked not Jonah that he lacked discretion, or that he spake out of time, that his sermon was made out of season: but, in England, if God's preacher be any thing quick, or speak sharply, then he is foolish, he is rash, he lacketh discretion. Now-a-days, if they cannot reprove the

the doctrine that is preached, they will reprove the preacher, that he lacketh due consideration of the times, and that he is of learning sufficient, but he wanteth discretion.

‘What a time is this, picked out to preach such things! he should have a respect and a regard to the time, and to the state of things, and of the common-wealth.’ It rejoiceth me sometimes, when my friend cometh and telleth me that they find fault with my indiscretion, for by likelihood, think I, the doctrine is true; for if they could find fault with the doctrine they would, and not with the lack of discretion, or with the inconvenience of the time.

I will now ask you a question: I pray you, when should Jonah have preached against the covetousness of Nineveh, if the covetous men should have appointed him his time? I know that preachers ought to have a discretion in their preaching, and that they ought to have a consideration and respect to the place, and the time that they preach in; as I myself will say here what I would not say in the country. But what then? Sin must be rebuked; sin must be plainly spoken against. And when should Jonah have preached against Nineveh, if he should have forborne for the respect of the times, or the place, or the state of things there? For what was Nineveh? A noble, a rich, and a wealthy city. Such a city was Nineveh, it was three days journey to go through every street of it. There were noblemen, rich men, wealthy men; there were vicious men, covetous men, and men that gave themselves to all voluptuous living, and to worldliness of getting riches. Was this a time well chosen and discreetly taken of Jonah, to come and reprove them of their sin, to declare unto them the threatenings of God, and to tell them of their covetousness, and to say plainly unto them, that except they repented and amended their evil living, they and their city should be destroyed at God’s hand within forty days? And yet they heard Jonah and gave place to his preaching. They heard the threatenings of God, and feared his stroke and vengeance, and

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believed God, that is, they believed God's preacher and minister, they believed that God would be true to his word that he spake by the mouth of his prophet, and thereupon did penance, to turn away the wrath of God from them. Well, what shall we say? I will say this and not spare; Christ saith, Nineveh shall arise against the Jews at the last day, and bear witness against them; because that they, hearing God's threatening for sin, 'did
'repent at the preaching of Jonah in ashes and sackcloth;'^{*} and I say Nineveh shall arise against England, because it will not believe God, nor hear his preachers that cry daily unto them, nor amend their lives, and especially their covetousness. Covetousness is as great a sin now as it was then; and he will as surely strike for sin now, as he did then. But, ah, good God! that would give them a time of repentance, after his threatening: first, to see whether they would amend or not, ere he would destroy them: for even from the first age of the world, from Adam to Noah, which was about two thousand years, they fell ever to sin, and they had preachers, Noah and Enoch, and other holy fathers. And in that time was a great multiplication of people, and the scripture saith, 'The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they
'were fair, and they took them wives from among all
'that they had chosen.'[†] The sons of God were those that came of good men, of the holy fathers, as Seth, Enoch, and other godly men. And by the daughters of men are to be understood those that came of Cain and his seed. 'And after that the sons of God had come in to
'the daughters of men, and there had engendered with
'them, the same became mighty men of the world, and
'men of renown.' This is covetousness; for the book saith, 'The earth was replete with iniquity, for they oppressed the poor:' they made them slaves, peasants, villains, and bondmen unto them: they oppressed the weak, and took from them what they would by force, violence, and oppression. They were giants; not that they were

* Matt. xii. 41.

† Gen. vi. 2, &c.

greater men of stature and strength of body than other men were, but for their cruelty and covetous oppression : for there is no reason why Seth's children could beget on Cain's daughters greater men than others were in stature of body ; but they were giants for oppressing of others by force and violence : and this was covetousness, wherewith God was so displeased, that he repented that he had made man, and resolved utterly to destroy the world ; and so called to Noah, and told him of it. ' And I will not dispute the matter with them,' saith God, ' from day to day, but if they will not amend within an hundred and twenty years, I shall bring in an universal flood over them, and destroy them all.' This was preached by Noah to them ; and so that God of his goodness, patience, and long-sufferance, gave them a time to repent and amend after his threatening, because they should see their evil doings, and return to God. So they had an hundred and twenty years to repent. But this godly father Noah was laughed to scorn.

Well, ye think little of the history ; if ye will know the meaning of it, it is what shews a great anger God hath to sin. But how long time thou hast, O England ! I cannot tell, for God hath not revealed it unto me ; if he had, so God help me, I would not spare to tell it you, for the good-will I bear you. But I can tell you, that this lenity, this long forbearing and holding of his hand, should move us to repent and amend. And I can tell, that whosoever contemneth this riches and treasure of God's goodness, of his mercy, his patience and long-suffering, shall have the more grievous condemnation : and I can tell that ye have time to repent as long as you live here in this world, but after this life I can make no warrant of any further time to repent. Therefore repent and amend while ye be here, for when ye are gone hence, ye are past that. But how long that shall be, whether to-morrow or next day, or twenty years, or how long, I cannot tell. But in the mean time ye have many Jonahs to tell you of your faults, and to declare unto you God's threatenings, except ye repent and amend.

Therefore, to return to my matter, I say as I said at the beginning, see it; first see it, and then amend it. For I promise you great complaints there are of it, and much crying out, and much preaching, but no amendment that I see. But 'beware of covetousness:' and why of covetousness? 'For covetousness is the root of all evil and mischief.'* This saying of Paul took me away from the gospel that is read in the church this day, it took me from the epistle, that I would preach upon neither of them at this time, I cannot tell what ailed me. But to tell you my imperfection, when I was appointed to preach here, I was new come out of sickness, whereof I looked to have died, and weak I was. Yet, nevertheless, when I was appointed unto it, I took it upon me, howbeit I repented afterwards what I had done: I was displeased with myself; I was vexed as Jonah was, when he should go to preach to the Ninevites. Well, I looked on the gospel that is read this day, but it liked me not; I looked on the epistle, but I could not away with that neither: Well, this saying of Paul came in my mind, and at last I considered and weighed the matter deeply, and then thought I thus with myself; Is covetousness the root of mischief and of all evil? Then have at the root, and down with all covetousness. So this place of Paul brought me to this text of Luke, 'See and beware of covetousness.' Therefore, preachers, out with your swords and strike at the root; speak against covetousness, and cry out upon it: stand not ticking and toying at the branches, nor at the boughs, for then there will new boughs and branches spring again of them, but strike at the root, and fear not these giants of England, these great men and men of power, these men that are oppressors of the poor; fear them not, but strike at the root of all evil, which is mischievous covetousness. Rebellion is an evil, therefore covetousness is the root of rebellion. And so it was indeed. Covetousness was the cause of rebellion this last summer, and both parties had covetousness, as well

* I. Tim. vi. 10.

the gentlemen as the common people ; for both parties had an inordinate desire to have that they had not, and that is covetousness, an inordinate desire to have that one hath not.

I read of late in an act of Parliament : and this act made mention of an act that was, I think, in King Henry the Third's days ; in this parliament that I speak of, the gentlemen and the commons were at variance, as they were now of late. And there the gentlemen that were landlords, would needs have an act of parliament, that it might be lawful for them to enclose and make several, from their tenants, and from the commons, such portions of their land as they thought good : much ado there was about this act ; at last it was concluded that they might so do : provided always, that they should leave *sufficient* to the tenant. Well, it was well that they were bound to leave sufficient for them. But who should be the judge to limit what was sufficient for them ? Or who shall now judge what is sufficient ? I for my part cannot. But methought it was well that the tenants and poor commons should have sufficient ; for if they had sufficient, thought I, they had cause to be quiet. And then fell I to make this argument within myself ; If they had it then in their power, thought I, that they might do this, they would leave no more than sufficient. If they left to the tenants and poor commons no more in those days but sufficient ; if they had any more taken from them since that time ; then had they now *not* sufficient.

Peers of the realm must needs be : but the poorest plowman is in Christ equal with the greatest prince that is. Let them therefore have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessities. A plow-land must have sheep, yea, they must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn ; they must have swine for their food, for their bacon is their venison, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle, as horses to draw their plow, and for carriage of things to the markets, and kine for their milk and cheese, which they must live upon and pay their rents.

These

These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack, the rest must needs fail them. And pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in and enclosed from them. So, as I said, there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore for God's love restore their sufficiency to them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion. But see and 'beware of covetousness,' for covetousness is the cause of rebellion. Well now, if covetousness be the cause of rebellion, then preaching against covetousness is not the cause of rebellion. Some say, that the preaching now-a-days is the cause of all sedition and rebellion; for since this new preaching hath come in, there hath been much sedition; and therefore it must needs be that the preaching is the cause of rebellion here in England. Forsooth, our preaching is the cause of rebellion, much like as Christ was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem. For, saith Christ, 'If I had not come and spoken to them, they should have had no sin.*' So we preachers have come and spoken unto you, we have drawn the sword of God's word, and stricken at the roots of all evil to have them cut down; and if ye will not amend, what can we do more? And preaching is the cause of sedition here in England, much like as Elias was the cause of trouble in Israel, for he was a preacher there, and told the people of all degrees their faults, and so they winced and kicked at him, and accused him to Ahab the King, that he was a seditious fellow, and a troublesome preacher, and made much uproar in the realm: so the King sent for him, and he was brought to Ahab the King, who said to him, 'Art thou he that troubleth all Israel?' And Elias answered and said, 'Nay, thou and thy father's house are they that trouble all Israel.†' Elias had preached God's word, he had plainly told the people of their evil doings, he had shewed them God's threatenings. In God's behalf I speak, there is neither King nor Emperor, be they in never so great estate, but they are subject to God's word, as therefore he was not afraid

* John xv. 22.

† I. Kings xviii. 17, &c.

to say to Ahab : ' It is thou and thy father's house, that causeth all the trouble in Israel.' Was not this presumptuously spoken to a King? Was not this a seditious fellow? Was not this fellow's preaching a cause of all the trouble in Israel? Was he not worthy to be cast into bocardo* or little-ease? No, but he had used God's sword, which is his word, and done nothing else that was evil; but they could not abide it: he never disobeyed Ahab's sword, which was the regal power. But Ahab disobeyed his sword, which was the word of God. And therefore by the punishment of God, much trouble arose in the realm for the sins of Ahab and the people. But God's preacher, God's prophet, was not the cause of the trouble,

Then it is not we preachers that trouble England! But here is now an argument to prove the matter against the preachers. Here was preaching against covetousness all the last year in Lent, and the next summer followed rebellion; therefore preaching against covetousness was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument.

Here now I will tell you a story: Master More† was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to find out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin sands, and the shelf that stopped up Sandwich haven. Thither cometh Master More, and calleth the country before him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter. Among others came in before him an old man, with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter, for, being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most of any man present in that company. So Master More called this aged man unto

* See Note pag. 241.

† Sir Thomas More, who was made Lord Chancellor by King Henry the VIII. in the year 1529; he resigned the seals in 1532, and was beheaded in the year 1535, for refusing the oath of supremacy.

him,

him, and said, Father, tell me, if ye can, what is the cause of this great rising of the sands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up so that no ships can arrive here? Ye are the oldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, ye of likelihood can say most to it. Yea forsooth, good Master, quoth this old man, for I am well nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company any thing near unto my age. Well then, quoth Master More, how say you in this matter? What think ye to be the cause of these shelves and flats that stop up Sandwich haven? Forsooth, Sir, quoth he, I am an old man; I think that Tenderden steeple, is the cause of Goodwin sands. For I am an old man, Sir, quoth he, and I may remember the building of Tenderden steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenderden steeple was in building, there was no speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven, and therefore I think that Tenderden steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich haven. And so to my purpose, preaching of God's word is the cause of rebellion, as Tenderden steeple was the cause that Sandwich haven is decayed.

And is not this a gay matter, that such should be taken for great wise men, that will thus reason against the preachers of God's word? But here I would take an occasion by the way of digression to speak somewhat to my sisters the women, to do them some good too, because I would do all folks good if I could, before I take my last farewell, at leastwise here of this place, for I think, I shall no more come here; for I think I have not long to live; so that I judge I take my leave now of the court for ever, and shall no more come in this place.

Ahab was a King, but Jezabel, Jezabel, she was the perilous woman. She would rule her husband the King; she would bear a stroke in all things, and she would order matters as pleased her; and so will many women do, they will rule their husbands, and do all things after their own minds. They do therein against the order of God
appointed

appointed them; they break their injunction that God have unto them: yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens' wives, they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degree, whether their husbands will or no. Some do it of pride; and some because they will be quarter-masters with their husbands. Quarter-masters? Nay, half masters: yea some of them will be whole masters, and rule the roast as they list themselves.

But some will not have these fashions to be evil, because they be not spoken of in scripture. But there be other things as evil as this, which are not spoken of in scripture expressly, but they are implied in scripture, as well as though they were there expressly spoken of. For the prophet Isaiah saith, 'Wo unto you that rise early in the morning, and go to drinking until night, that ye might swim in wine.'* This is the scripture against banqueting and drunkenness. But now they banquet all night, and lie a bed in day-time till noon, and the scripture speaketh nothing of that. But what then? the devil hath his purpose this way, as well as the other; he hath his purpose as well by revelling and keeping ill rule all night, as by rising early in the morning and banqueting all day. So the devil hath his purpose both ways. Ye noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keep: for God's sake hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you that ye lie abed till eight, or nine, or ten o'clock. I cannot tell what revels ye have over night, whether in banqueting, or dancing, or carding, or how it is. But in the morning, when the poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal: they are kept sometimes without your gates; or, if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, Sir, ye cannot speak with my Lord yet, my Lord is asleep, or he had business of the King's all night, &c. And thus poor suitors are driven off from day to day, that they cannot speak with

* If. v. 2.

you in three, or four days, yea, a whole month; what shall I say more? a whole year sometimes, ere they can come to your speech, to be heard of you. For God's love look better to it, speak with poor men when they come to your houses, and dispatch poor suitors, as indeed some noblemen do, and would to Christ that all noble men would so do. But some do.

But now to come to my matter again; 'See and beware of covetousness:' and I shall desire you to consider four things; *Who* speaketh it; *what* he speaketh; to *whom* he speaketh; and *wherefore* he speaketh it. And here, Christ speaketh to a rich man against avarice: And why against avarice? what shall be the end of all covetous persons? Eternal damnation. 'For the covetous person,' saith Paul, 'shall not possess, nor enter into the kingdom of God.*' Here therefore I shall desire you to pray, &c.

* I. Cor. vi. 9, 10,

SERMON

S E R M O N XV.

OF COVETOUSNESS.

Continued in the afternoon of the same day.

LUKE xii. 15.

See and beware of covetousness.

FIRST, *who* spake these words? Forsooth, Christ spake them; if I had spoken them of myself, it had been little worth: but Christ spake them at that time; and now he speaketh them by his preachers, whom ye ought to believe; and so it is all one. But upon *what occasion* did he speak it? There were two brethren at strife together for lands, wealthy men, as it appeareth, and the rich man would not tarry till Christ had ended his sermon, but interrupted it, and would needs have this matter dispatched presently. He was at Christ's sermon, but yet he would not defer his worldly cause till Christ had made an end of his godly exhortation. This was a thorny brother, he was a gospeller, he was a carnal gospeller, as many be now-a-days for a piece of an abbey, or for a portion of chantrey lands, and to get somewhat by it, and to serve his commodity. He was a gospeller, one of the new brethren, somewhat worse than a rank papist; however, a rank papist now-a-days shall sooner have promotion than a true gospeller shall have, the more is the pity. But this was a thorny gospeller; he heard Christ's preaching and followed him for company, and heard his words; but he was never the better for it: for the care of the world had so choaked the word of God in him,

that he could not hear the sermon to the end, but interrupted the sermon for his worldly matters ere it were all done.

And what was Christ then doing? Forsooth, he was sowing of good seed, but it fell upon stony ground, so that it could not take any root in this man, to bring forth good fruit in him. And let me tell you of the seed that Christ was then sowing; bear with me a while, and seeing that I come now to take my last farewell of this place, hear me patiently, and give me leave a little while, and let me take my leave honestly.

At this time, when this man interrupted Christ, he was preaching a long sermon to his disciples, and to the people, being gathered together in a wonderful great multitude, as appeareth in the context: and there he first of all taught his disciples a good lesson, saying, 'Beware in any wise of the leaven of the Pharisees.' What is this leaven of the Pharisees? Leaven is sometimes taken for corrupt living, which infecteth others by the evil example thereof; and against such corrupt living, God's preachers must cry out earnestly, and never cease till it be rooted up. In the city of Corinth, one had married his step-mother, his father's wife; and he was a great rich man, and therefore they winked at it, they would not meddle in the matter; and he was of such rule and authority, that they durst not, many of them. But St. Paul hearing of the matter, writ unto them, and in God's behalf charged them to do away such abomination from among them. St. Paul would not leave till they had excommunicated the wicked doer of such abomination. If we should now excommunicate all such wicked doers, there would be much ado in England.

Ye that are magistrates shew favour or affection to such, and will not suffer they may be rooted out or put to shame. O, he is such a man's servant, we may not do him any shame: O, he is a gentleman, &c. And for the thing is not now any whit looked unto. Lewdness is used throughout England, and such lewdness as is used in none other place of the world; and yet it is made a

matter

matter of sport, a matter of nothing, a laughing matter, and a trifle, not to be regarded, nor reformed. But beware, ye that are magistrates, their sin doth leaven you all. Therefore, for God's love, beware of this leaven. Well, I trust it will be one day amended. I look not to live long, and yet, I trust, as old as I am, to live to see lewdness punished. I would wish that Moses's law were restored for punishment of adultery, and that offenders therein might be punished according thereto.

But sometimes leaven is taken for corrupt doctrine; and so it is here taken in this place, when he saith, 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees:' for Christ intended to make his disciples teachers of all the world, and therefore to beware of corrupt doctrine. And that he said to them, he saith also to us; receive no corrupt doctrine, no mingle-mangle; yet there be leaveners still, and mingle-manglers, that have soured Christ's doctrine with the leaven of the Pharisees. This was the first seed.

The second seed was, 'There is nothing privy or hidden that shall not be revealed and opened:' it pertaineth all to one purpose; for there he taught his disciples to beware of the leaven, which was hypocrisy; declaring unto them, that hypocrisy would not be always hidden, but such as were not sincere should be known at the last day, and all that was taught should at length be known. It hath also another meaning, for it is God's proverb, 'There is nothing so private but it shall be opened,' at least in the great day of reckoning; in the dreadful day of general account, in the day of revelation; then shall it be openly known whatsoever is done, be it done never so privily.

These men all have their fetches, to bring things to their purposes; but work they never so privily, never so covertly, yet, at the last day, their doings shall be openly revealed, as saith the scripture, till all the world shall see it, to their shame and confusion that are the doers of it. As the Prophet Jeremiah saith, 'Even as a thief that is taken with the matter that he stealeth, so shall sinners be openly confounded, and their evil doings opened.'

‘opened.’* Yea, and though it be not known in this world, yet it shall be known at the last day to their damnation. Indeed God hath verified his proverb from time to time, ‘Nothing is so private the which shall not be revealed.’

When Cain had killed his brother Abel, he thought he had effected the matter so privily, and so closely, that it should never have been known; but first, God knew it well enough, and called unto him, saying, ‘Cain, where is thy brother Abel?’ But he thought he could have beguiled God too; and, therefore, he answered, ‘I cannot tell, am I set to keep my brother?’† But at last he was confounded, and his murder brought to light.

And now all the world readeth in the Bible: Joseph’s brethren had sold him away, they took his motley coat and besprinkled it over and over with blood, they thought all was safe; they had conveyed the matter so secretly, that they thought all the world could never spy it: and yet out it came to their great benefit. And now it is known to us all, as many as can read the Bible.

David saw a fair woman wash her; then he was straightway ensnared, and would needs have her: he sent for her, yea, he had gentlemen of his chamber about him that went for her by-and-by to fetch her.—And here I have another suit to your Highness: when ye come to age, beware what persons ye have about you; for if ye be set on pleasure, or disposed to wantonness, ye shall have ministers enough to be furtherers and instruments of it.—But David, by his wisdom and policy, thought so to have cloaked the matter, that it should never have been known. He sent for her husband, Uriah, and shewed him a fair countenance, and looked pleasantly on him, and sent him forth to war, that he might do his pleasure with Bathsheba afterward, and thought he had wrought wondrous privily. But the Prophet of God came and laid his fault plain before his face, and who is it now that knoweth it not?

* Jer. ii. 26.

† Gen. iv. 9, 10.

Elifha's servant, Gehazi, a bribing brother, he came plaufibly to Naaman, the Syrian, and framed a tale of his master Elifha, as all bribers will do, and told him that his master had need of this and that, and took of Naaman certain things, and secreted them for his own use, and thought that it should never have come out: but Elifha knew it well enough. The servant had his bribes that he fought, yet was he stricken with the leprosy, and so openly shamed.—Think on this, ye that are bribers, when ye go so secretly about such things; have this in your minds when ye devise your secret fetches and conveyances, how Elifha's servant was served, and was openly known. For God's proverb will be true, 'There is nothing hidden that will not be revealed.'

He that took the silver bafon and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out, but he may now know that I know it, and I know it not alone, there be more beside me that know it. O briber, and bribery! he was never a good man that will so take bribes; nor can I ever believe that he that is a briber shall be a good justice. It will never be well in England, till we have the skins of such. For what needeth bribing where men do their things uprightly?

But now I will imitate St. Paul, and translate the thing on myself: I will become the King's officer for a while: I will suppose I have to lay out for the King two thousand pounds, or a great sum, whatsoever it be: well, when I have laid it out, and am to bring in my account, I must give three hundred marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me to give a penny to have my bills warranted? If I have done my office truly, and do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given; yea, one groat for warranting of my bills? Smell ye nothing in this? What needeth any bribes giving, except the bills be false? No man giveth bribes for warranting of his bills, except they be false bills.

Well, such practice hath been in England, but beware, it will out one day; beware of God's proverb, 'There

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'is nothing hidden that shall not be opened:' yea, even in this world, if ye be not the children of damnation. And here now I speak to you, my masters, minters, augmentators,* receivers, surveyors, and auditors; I make a petition unto you: I beseech you all to be good to the King, be good to the King; he hath been good to you, therefore be good to him: yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are known well enough what you were before ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what build-ings ye make daily. Well, I pray you so build, that the King's workmen may be paid: they make their moan that they can get no money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powdermen, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid some of them three or four months; yea, some of them half a year: yea, some of them put up bills this time twelve months for their money, and cannot be paid yet. They cry out for their money, and, as the scripture saith, 'The cry of the workmen is come up to mine ears.'† O, for God's love, let the workmen be paid, if there be money enough; or else there will whole showers of God's vengeance rain down upon your heads! Therefore, ye minters and augmentators, serve the King truly. So build and purchase, that the King may have money to pay his workmen. It seemeth ill-favouredly, that ye should have enough wherewith to build superfluously, and the King lack to pay his poor labourers. Well, yet I doubt not but that there be some good officers: but I will not say for all.

I have now preached three Lents. The first time I preached Restitution: Restitution, quoth some, what should he preach of Restitution? Let him preach of Con-

* Certain officers so called, belonging to a Court set up by King Henry VIII. for the increase of his crown revenues by the suppression of monasteries and religious houses. It was called the Augmentation Court.

† James v. 4.

trition, quoth they, and let Restitution alone; we can never make restitution. Then, say I, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Now choose thee either restitution, or else endless damnation. But now there be two manner of restitutions; secret restitution, and open restitution; whether of both it be, so that restitution be made, it is all good enough. At my first preaching of restitution, one man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the King, and willing he was to make restitution; and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the King's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made up, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more: I received it myself, and paid it to the King's Council. So I was asked, what he was that made this restitution? But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have my life. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and eighty pounds ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the King's Council; and so this man hath made a godly restitution. And so, quoth I to a certain nobleman, that is one of the King's Council, if every man that hath beguiled the King should make restitution after this sort, it would bring the King twenty thousand pounds, I think, quoth I. Yea, that it would, quoth the other, a whole hundred thousand pounds. Alack, alack, make restitution, for God's sake, make restitution; ye will repent in hell else! There is no remedy, but restitution open or secret, or else hell. This that I have now told you of, was a secret restitution.

Some examples there have been of open restitution, and glad may he be that God was so friendly unto him, to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him; it was Master Sherrington, an honest gentleman; and one that God loveth: he openly confessed that he had deceived the King, and he made open restitution. O, what an argument may he have against the devil, when he shall move him to desperation! God brought

this out to his amendment: it is a token that he is a chosen man of God, and one of his elected. If he be of God, he shall be brought to it; therefore, for God's sake, make restitution, or else remember God's proverb, 'There is nothing so secret that shall not be revealed.' If you do either of these two in this world, then are ye of God; if not, then for lack of restitution, ye shall have eternal damnation. Ye may do it by means, if you dare not do it yourselves; bring it to another, and so make restitution. If ye be not of God's flock, it shall be brought out to your shame and damnation at the last day, when all evil mens' sins shall be laid open before us. Yet there is one way how all our sins may be hidden, which is, repent and amend: repentance, repentance; repenting and amending is a sure remedy, and a sure way to hide all, that it shall not come out to our shame and confusion.

Yet there is another seed that Christ was sowing in that sermon of his, and this was the seed. I say to you, my friends, 'Fear not him that killeth the body, but fear him that after he hath killed, hath power also to cast into hell-fire.' And then, to put his disciples in comfort and sure hope of his help, and out of all doubt and mistrust of his assistance, he bringeth in unto them the example of the sparrows, how they are fed by God's mere providence and goodness; and also of the hairs of our heads, how, that not so much as one hair falleth from our heads without him: 'Fear him,' saith he, 'that when he hath killed the body, may also cast into hell-fire.' Here is matter for all kinds of people, but especially for Kings.

And therefore here is another suit to your Highness. 'Fear not him that killeth the body.' Fear not these foreign princes and foreign powers. God shall make you strong enough. Stick to God, fear God; fear not them. God hath sent you many storms in your youth, but forsake not God, and he will not forsake you. Peradventure ye shall have those shall move you, and say unto you, O, Sir, such a one is a great man, he is a mighty Prince,

a King

a King of great power, ye cannot be without his friendship, agree with him in religion, or else ye shall have him your enemy, &c. Well, fear them not, but cleave to God, and he shall defend you. Do not as King Ahaz did, that was afraid of the Assyrian King, and for fear lest he should have him to his enemy, was content to forsake God, and to agree with him in religion, and worshipping of idols: and, anon, sent to Uriah the high priest, who was ready at once to set up the idolatry of the Assyrian King. Do not your Highness so, fear not the best of them all; but fear God. The same Uriah was a chaplain at hand, an elbow chaplain. If ye will turn, ye shall have them will turn with you, yea, even in their white rotchets. But follow not Ahaz: remember the hair how it falls not without God's providence: remember the sparrows, how they build in every house, and God provideth for them; 'And are ye not much more 'precious to me,' saith Christ, 'than sparrows or other 'birds?' God will defend you, that before your time cometh, ye shall not die nor miscarry.

On a time when Christ was going to Jerusalem, his disciples said to him, 'They there would have stoned thee, and wilt thou now go thither again?' What saith he again to them, 'Be there not twelve hours in 'the day?' God hath appointed his times, as pleaseth him, and before the time cometh that God hath appointed, they shall have no power against you. Therefore stick to God and forsake him not, but fear him, and fear not men.

Another seed that Christ was sowing in the sermon was this: 'He that confesseth me before men, I shall also 'confess him before my Father.' We must confess him with the mouth. A bishop not long ago said, as touching this: 'Laws,' saith he, 'must be obeyed, and 'civil ordinances I will follow outwardly, but my heart 'in religion is free to think as I will.'

Well, another seed was, 'He that sinneth against the 'Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this 'world nor in the world to come.' What is this same

fin against the Holy Ghost, an horrible fin that never shall be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come? What is this fin? Final impenitency, and malicious impugning of the truth. Beware of this fin that ye fall not into it.

Another seed was this: 'Be not careful,' saith Christ, 'what ye shall say before judges and magistrates, when ye are brought afore them for my name's sake, for the Holy Ghost shall put in your minds, even at that present hour, what ye shall speak.'

A comfortable saying, and a goodly promise of the Holy Ghost: 'That the adversaries of the truth,' saith he, 'shall not be able to resist.' What! Shall the adversaries of the truth be dumb? Nay, there be no greater talkers, nor boasters, and facers, than they be; but they shall not be able to resist the truth to destroy it.

I am now almost come to my matter, saving one saying of Christ, which was another seed: 'Give, and it shall be given unto you,' &c. But who believes this? If men believed this promise, they would give more than they do; at leastwise they would not stick to give a little: but now-a-days mens' study is set rather to take gifts, and to get of other mens' goods, than to give any of their own; so all the other promises are mistrusted and disbelieved. For if the rich men did believe this promise of God, they would willingly and readily give a little to have the overplus.

These were the seeds that Christ was sowing when this covetous man came unto him. And now I am come to my matter. While Christ was thus preaching, this covetous man would not tarry till all the sermon was done, but interrupted the sermon; 'Master,' quoth he, 'speak to my brother, that he may divide the inheritance with me.' He would not abide till the end of the sermon, but his mind was set on his money, and he would needs have his matter dispatched out of hand; 'Master,' quoth he, 'let my brother divide with me.' Yet this was a good fellow; he could be contented with part, he desired not to have all together alone to himself, but could be content with

with a division, and to have his part of the inheritance : And what was the inheritance ? A field. So that it was but one piece of ground, or one farm. This covetous man could be content with the half of one farm, whereas men now-a-days cannot be satisfied with many farms at once : one man must now have as many farms as will serve many men, or else he will not be contented or satisfied : they will jar now-a-days one with another, except they have all. ‘ O,’ saith the wise man, ‘ there be three things wherein my soul delighteth ; the unity of brethren, the love of neighbours, and a man and wife agreeing well together.* So that the concord of brethren is a happy thing. O, it is a great matter when brethren love and hold together ! But if the one go about to pull down the other, then are they both of them weak ; and when one pulleth down the other, they must needs go down both of them ; there is no stay to hold them up.

Mark in the chronicles of England : Two brethren have reigned jointly together, the one on this side Humber, and the other beyond Humber, in Scotland, and all that way. And what hath come of it ? So long as they agreed well together, so long they have prospered ; and when they have jarred, they have gone to wreck. Brethren that have so reigned here in England, have quarrelled one with another, and the younger hath not been contented with his portion, (as indeed the younger brother commonly jarreth first) but by the contention both fared the worse.† So when there is any contention between brother against brother for land, commonly they are both undone by it. But of these two brethren, whether this man here were the elder or the younger, I cannot say ; scripture telleth me not which of these two were the younger ; but it is likely this was the younger, for once it was a plain law that the first born, that is, the elder

* Ecclesiasticus xxv. 1.

† The Bishop here, and in some other places, alludes to the unnatural opposition of Thomas Seymour, the Lord Admiral, to his elder brother, the Lord Protector Seymour ; which ended in the untimely and violent deaths of them both. See pages 26 and 222.
brother,

brother, had two thirds of the field or farm; and therefore, of all likelihood, it should be the youngest brother that found himself aggrieved, and was not content. But Christ said unto them, 'Thou man, who hath made me 'a judge or a divider between you?' Christ answered him by a question; and mark this question of Christ; 'Who made me a judge between you?' Here some will say, 'Ah, Christ refused the office of a judge, therefore 'there ought to be no judges nor magistrates among 'Christian men. If it had been a thing lawful, Christ would 'not have refused to do the office of a judge, and to have 'determined the variance between these two brethren.' Now Christ did thereby signify, that he was not sent for that office. But if thou wilt have a trial and a sentence of any matter according to the laws, thou must go to the temporal judge that is deputed thereunto. But Christ's meaning was, that he was come for another purpose, he had another office deputed unto him, than to be a judge in temporal matters: 'I am come,' saith he, 'to call 'sinners to repentance.'* He was come to preach the gospel, the remission of sins, and the kingdom of God; and meant not thereby to disallow the office of temporal magistrates. Nay, if Christ had meant that there should be no magistrates, he would have bid him take all; but Christ meant nothing so. But the matter is, that this covetous man, this brother, took his mark amiss, for he came to a wrong man to seek redress of his matter. Nor did Christ forbid him to seek his remedy at the magistrate's hand, but refused to take upon him the office, that was not his calling,

For Christ had another vocation, than to be a judge between such as contended about matters of land. If our rebels had had this in their minds, they would not have been their own judges, but they would have sought the redress of their grief at the hands of the King and his magistrates under him appointed. But this man, perchance, had heard, and did think that Christ was the

* Matt. ix. 13.

Messias, whose reign in words foundeth a corporal and a temporal reign, which should do justice, and see a redress in all matters of worldly controversy ; which is a necessary office in a Christian realm, and must needs be put in execution for ministering of justice. And therefore I require you, as a suitor rather than a preacher, look to your office yourself, and lay not all on your officers backs ; receive the bills of supplication yourself : I do not see you do so now-a-days as ye were wont to do the last year.

For God's sake look unto it, and see to the ministering of justice your own self, and let poor suitors have answer. There is a King in Christendom, and it is the King of Denmark,* that sitteth openly in justice thrice in the week, and hath the doors kept open on purpose. I have heard it reported of one that hath been there, and seen the proof of it many a time and often : and the last justice that ever he saw done there, was of a priest's cause that had had his glebe land taken from him ; and now here in England some go about to take away all : but this priest had had his glebe land taken from him by a great man. Well, first went out letters for this man to appear at a day ; process went out for him according to the order of the law, and charged him, by virtue of those letters, to appear before the King on such on a day. The day came : the King sat in his hall ready to administer justice : the priest was there present : the gentleman, this lord, this great man, was called, and commanded to appear ; and, in the end, he made this lord to restore unto the priest not only the glebe land which he had taken from him, but also the rent and profit thereof, for so long time as he had withholden it from the priest, which was eight years, or thereabouts. ' When you can shew,' saith he, ' better evidence than the priest hath done, why ' it ought to be your land, then he shall restore it to you ' again, and the profits thereof that he shall receive in the

* Christian III.

' mean

‘mean time ; but till that day come, I charge ye that ye
‘suffer him peaceably to enjoy what is his.’

This is a noble King, and this I tell for your example, that ye may do the like : look upon the matter your own self. Poor men put up bills every day, and are never the nearer. Confirm your kingdom in judgement, and begin doing of your office yourself, even now while you are young, and sit once or twice a week in Council among your Lords, it shall cause things to have good success, and that matters shall not be lingered forth from day to day. It is good for every man to do his own office, and to see that well executed and discharged.

But when Christ said, ‘Who hath made me a judge or
‘a divider among you?’ Christ did refuse another man’s office, an office he was not of his Father deputed unto. Christ’s kingdom was a spiritual kingdom, and his office was a spiritual office, and he was a spiritual judge : and, therefore, when the woman taken in adultery was brought before him, he refused also to act the judge, but said, ‘Who
‘accuseth thee?’ and she said again, ‘No man, Lord.’ Then said he, ‘Neither I condemn thee. Go thy ways,
‘and sin no more.’* Here he took upon him his own office, and did his office ; for his office was to preach, and bid sinners amend their evil living ; and not to be a temporal judge in temporal causes.

But now to make an end of temporal causes :—‘Thou
‘man, who made me a judge among you?’ And he said unto all the audience, ‘See and beware of covetousness.’ Why so? ‘For no man’s life standeth in the abundance
‘of the things which he possesseth.’ We may have things necessary, and we may have abundance of things, but the abundance doth not make us blessed. It is no good argument, The more riches that a man hath, the more happily and the more blessedly he liveth. For a certain great man that had purchased much lands, a thousand marks a year, or I know not what, a great portion he had ; and on the way, as he was in his journey towards, or from,

* John viii. 10, 11.

London, he fell sick by the way; and so being in his bed, the disease grew more and more upon him, that he was by his friends that were about him godlily advised to look to himself, and to address himself to God, for there was no other likelihood but that he must die without remedy. He cried out, 'What! shall I die? Wounds, fides, heart!' quoth he, 'shall I die, and thus go from my goods? Go, fetch me some physician that may save my life. Wounds and fides, shall I thus die!' There lay he still in bed like à block, with nothing but 'wounds and fides, shall I die?' Within a very little while he died indeed, and then lay he like a block indeed. There were black gowns, torches, tapers, and ringing of bells: but what is become of him God knoweth, and not I.

But here by this ye may perceive, that it is not the abundance of riches that maketh a man to live quietly and blisfully. But the quiet life is a mediocrity: they that are in a mean do live best. And there is a proverb which I read many years ago; 'The half is sometimes more than the whole.' The mean life is the best life, and the most quiet life of all. If a man should fill himself up to the throat, he should not find ease in it, but displeasure, and with the one half he might satisfy his greedy appetite. So that great riches never make a man's life quiet, but rather troublous. I remember here a saying of Solomon, and his example: 'I gathered silver and gold together,' saith he; 'I provided me fingers, and women which could play on instruments, to make much mirth and pastime: I gat me psalteries and songs of music, &c. and thus my heart rejoiced in all that I did.' But what was the end of all this? 'When I considered,' saith Solomon, 'all the works that my hands had wrought—lo, all was but vanity and vexation of mind; and nothing of any value under the sun.* Therefore leave covetousness, for, believe me, if I hated an enemy, the first thing that I would wish him should be, that he might have abundance of riches; for so, I am sure he

should never be in quiet. But think ye there be not many that would be so hurt? But in this place of the gospel, Christ spake and declared this unquietness and uncertainty of great riches, by a similitude and parable of a great rich man, who had much land that brought forth all fruits plentifully; and he being proud of the matter, and much unquiet by reason that he had so much, said to himself, 'What shall I do, because I have not room enough wherein to bestow my fruits? I will thus do,' saith he, 'I will pull down my barns and build greater; and I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up in store for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said to him, Thou fool, this night will they take thy soul from thee again, and then whose shall these things be which thou hast provided? Even so it is with him,' saith Christ, 'that gathereth riches unto himself, and is not rich toward God.'* But yet the covetous man can never be content. I walked one day with a gentleman in a park, and the man regarded not my talk, but cast his head and his eyes this and that way, so that I perceived he gave no great ear to me, which when I saw, I held my peace. At last, quoth the gentleman, if this park were mine, I would never desire more while I lived. I answered and said, Sir, and what if you had this park too? for there was another park even hard by. The gentleman laughed at the matter. And truly I think he was diseased with the dropsy; the more he had, the more covetous he was to have more and more. This was a farmer that had a farm hard by it, and if he might have had this park to it, he would never have desired more. This farmer was not altogether so covetous a man, as there be now-a-days, as for one gentleman to rake up all the farms in the country together into his hands at once.

God giveth men plenty of riches to exercise their faith and charity, to confirm them that be good, to draw them that be nought, and bring them to repentance; and the

* Luke xii. 16, 21.

devils work together to the contrary. And it is an old proverb, 'The more wicked, the more fortunate.' But the unquietness of this covetous rich man, declareth the unquietness of the mind that riches bringeth with it. First, they are all in care how to get riches, and then they are in more care how to keep them. Therefore the Apostle saith: 'They that study to get great riches, do fall into divers and many temptations; but the root of all evil is covetousness.'*—'What shall I do?' saith this rich man. He asked his own brainless head what he should do; he did not ask of the scripture. For if he had asked of the scripture, it would have told him, it would have said unto him, 'Break thy bread unto the hungry.† All the affection of men now-a-days is in building gay and sumptuous houses; in setting up and pulling down, and they never have done building. But the end of all such great riches and covetousness is this: 'This night, thou fool, thy soul shall be taken from thee.' It is to be understood of all that rise up from little to much, as this rich man that the gospel spake of. I do not despise riches, but I wish that men should have riches as Abraham had, and as Joseph had. A man to have riches to help his neighbour, is godly riches. The worldly riches, is to put all his trust and confidence in his worldly riches, that he may by them live here gaily, pleasantly, and voluptuously. Are these godly riches? No, no, these are not godly riches. It is a common saying now-a-days among many, 'O, he is a rich man!' He is well worth five hundred pounds, that hath given five hundred pounds to the poor, otherwise it is none of his. Yea, but who shall have this five hundred pounds? For whom hast thou gotten that five hundred pounds? What saith Solomon? 'Another evil,' saith he, 'is riches hoarded up, and kept together to the owner's harm:‡ for many times such riches do perish and consume away miserably. Such a one shall sometimes have a son, said he, that shall be a very beggar, and live in

* I. Tim. vi. 9, 10.

† If. lviii. 7.

‡ Eccles. xv. 13.

all extreme penury. O goodly riches, that one man shall get it, and another come to devour it! Therefore, 'See and beware of covetousness.' Believe God's words, for they will not deceive you nor lie. 'Heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord abideth, and endureth for ever.'* Therefore, 'If God send thee riches, use them.' If God send thee abundance, use it according to the rule of God's word, and study to be rich in our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

* Matt. xxiv. 35.

7 AP 53

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

